

WESTERN HUMANISTIC CULTURE
PRESENTED TO CHINA
BY JESUIT MISSIONARIES
(XVII-XVIII centuries)

Proceedings of the Conference
held in Rome, October 25-27, 1993

Edited by Federico Masini



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00193 ROMA

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PREFACE

Although not excelling in well-organised and well-furnished modern sinological libraries, able to bear comparison with those existing in other European countries and in the United States, Italy is rich in printed books and manuscripts, written both in western languages and in Chinese, dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and related to the activities of the Catholic missionaries in the Far East and particularly in China. We are indebted for the constitution of this bibliographical patrimony to the Catholic Church and its missionaries, especially the Jesuits; hence the documents are mostly kept in the archives and libraries of religious orders, such as the Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, or the Vatican and Propaganda Fide. Books and manuscripts are also to be found in state libraries, as the National Central Library in Rome, where the archives and books belonging to many religious congregations were transferred after 1870, having been arbitrarily confiscated by the government of the time.

This heritage is exceptionally important for the knowledge of relations between Europe and China and, after a prolonged period of neglect, is now increasingly attracting the interest of European and American scholars. It consists of works written in Chinese by the missionaries, their converts and their adversaries, dealing with religious, geographical, historical, scientific subjects, and waiting to be made widely known through translation into western languages. It consists of works, written mostly in Latin with the aim of presenting various aspects of the Chinese world to the western public, well-worth examining in order to identify their Chinese sources. It consists also of letters, articles and diaries which may provide useful information on the works in general and on their authors.

Books and documents, printed or manuscripts, written in western languages and in Chinese and related to the activities of the missionaries in China also exist in other European countries. For example Portugal, Spain, France, Germany have excellent material in their libraries and archives. Clearly one of

the main tasks of European sinology should be to undertake a thorough study of the books and manuscripts existing in European libraries and archives. In its 1988 conference, held in Weimar, the European Association of Chinese Studies decided to consider this task as a matter of primary importance.

Following the decision, a preliminary meeting was held in Rome in 1990, attended by Professors J. Gernet, E. Zürcher and myself. In October 1991, the Collège de France organised a “colloque”, a restricted meeting attended by about thirty European scholars, whose proceedings were published in 1993 with the title *L'Europe en Chine. Interactions scientifiques, religieuses et culturelles aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. Having been invited to participate in that “colloque” together with my colleague F. Masini, I proposed that the next meeting should be held in Rome.

It was agreed that the Conference would take place in Rome from October 25th to 27th 1993: the first day at the University of Rome “La Sapienza”, the second day at the Gregorian University and the third day at the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Unfortunately the Conference had to be restricted to very few scholars owing to insurmountable budgetary limitations: a very painful decision which prevented extending invitations to more people.

The following scholars attended the Conference and delivered lectures:

- from Belgium: U.Libbrecht and G.Moortgat (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven);
- from France: C.Jami (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris);
- from Germany: M.Lackner (Universität von Göttingen, Göttingen);
- from Italy: G.Bertuccioli, F.Masini, M.Miranda and M.N.Rossi (University of Rome “La Sapienza”), J.Shih S.J. (Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma); I.Iannaccone (Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli);
- from the Netherlands: A.Dudink, K.Schipper and E. Zürcher (Rijk Universiteit, Leiden);
- from U.S.A.: D.E.Mungello (Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa); J. Witek S.J. (Georgetown University, Washington D.C.).

The following attended at least one of the three days of the meeting:

G. Pittau S.J. (Rector, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma),
L. Szilas S.J. (Director, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Roma),
G. Gnoli (President, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente),
P. Corradini and L. Petech (Università di Roma "La Sapienza").

The Conference was possible thanks to the funds and the assistance provided by the Università di Roma, the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, the Pontificia Università Gregoriana, the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. To all I wish to express my sincerest thanks.

The present volume, edited by F. Masini, contains the texts of lectures forwarded by the authors ready for press before the prescribed deadline of December 31, 1994. I wish to express my gratitude to the Institutum Historicum S.I. for having generously agreed to publish the volume in the series "Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I." and again to the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche for having given a financial contribution for the publication.

The title of the volume "Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" reproduces the theme of the Conference and wishes to place stress on the fact that the Jesuits, while carrying out their mission of evangelisation, not only contributed to spreading western scientific knowledge in China, as commonly said, but also to increasing knowledge of western humanistic culture. They introduced the Chinese to the translations of literary and philosophical works written by classical Greek and Latin authors, even "pagan" ones, thus confirming the extent of their cultural background, as well as their broadmindedness.

Giuliano Bertuccioli

Rome, December 1994

THE JESUIT MANUSCRIPTS ON CHINA PRESERVED IN THE BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE IN ROME *

Marina Battaglini

The purpose of this paper is to make known a collection of Jesuit manuscripts on China preserved in the National Library in Rome. Though small, if compared with the collections of documents on the same subject in the Historic Archives of the Jesuits, Propaganda Fide and the Vatican, it is nonetheless important for those conducting research on the activities of missionaries in China.

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part is a concise description of the collection, giving details of its origin, contents and arrangement. The second part is an inventory, a very simplified and synthetic list of the individual manuscripts.

Unfortunately, the National Library does not have a printed catalogue of the manuscripts, with an index for each collection. The catalogue and indexes were compiled somewhat roughly at the beginning of this century, mainly to indicate and describe loose sheets, such as those which compose the main part of the collection concerning China. Consequently, information can be difficult to retrieve, as the indexes are very general and the author's name is only rarely listed. The main purpose of the inventory is to provide the data necessary for identifying the subject matter of the manuscripts and provide scholars with a useful tool of research.

The collection of Jesuit manuscripts originally came from

* The first draft of this article was presented at the V^e Colloque International de Sinologie (Chantilly, 1986). It was later published in the volume *Succès et échecs de la rencontre Chine et Occident du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, Actes du V^e Colloque International de Sinologie de Chantilly, 15-18 septembre 1986, Taipei-Paris, 1993. During these years, the list of the manuscripts has been completely revised and, following careful research, I hereby present the final version of it.

the Collegio Romano, the Casa Professa and other churches having Jesuit collections, such as S. Andrea al Quirinale. In 1873, Roman religious congregations were abolished by law and their libraries passed into the hands of the Italian State and hence of the National Library.

Along with around sixty libraries of other religious congregations, the entire Jesuit collection (including an impressive printed section of around 80.000 volumes) formed the original nucleus of the National Library. The collection of Jesuit manuscripts consists of 1572 reference numbers, that include miscellaneous or loose sheet collections given the same reference number with a progressive number as exponent. There are very few individual volumes, the main part consisting of loose sheets, notes, letters, reports or short dissertations. In some cases we presumably have the originals, but more often copies, sometimes incomplete. Therefore, alongside the more official papers such as the letters or reports sent to the Father General of Jesuits (Ges.1256/48; Ges.1256/38) or the writings that the Jesuits sent to the Holy Office (Ges.1257/4) or directly to the Holy Father (Ges.1257/15), we find many writings or treatises on theological subjects and, more rarely, texts on Jesuit missionary life in China.

This small nucleus of documents should have been preserved in the historic Archives of the Jesuits. It may have ended up in the National Library by mistake, not being in the Archives when the library of the Collegio Romano passed to the Italian State. From notes in the margin of some papers (Ges.1256/22) it seems that for various reasons they were either kept in the library or by individual priests.

The manuscripts on China obviously don't have a specific arrangement within the collection. Although the individual papers concerning the missions are mainly contained in boxes, these boxes also contain papers and documents on missions in Japan, South East Asia or India. Moreover, when the collections of the various clerical libraries were first confiscated, they were catalogued according to the different collections. Subsequently, in the great confusion that marked the initial organisation of the National Library, the manuscripts were given a number that was progressive and did not distinguish the different collections. It was only at the beginning of this century that the manuscripts were divided once again, in a manner that

distinguished between the various collections, and given a reference number and a progressive number.

Chronologically the collection includes documents from the end of the sixteenth century (Ges.150) to the beginning of the nineteenth century (Ges.1105/12). Most of the dated documents are from the end of the seventeenth century to the first twenty years of the eighteenth century. Although some of the documents are not dated, most can be included in this period that coincides with the reign of the Kangxi emperor, under whom the Jesuits, despite difficulties, worked with great success and following at the Imperial Court and in the country.

The Jesuit Fathers subscribers and authors of the reports, letters and theological dissertations, are among those better known: Verbiest, Intorcetta and Ruggieri. The documents deal mostly with the Rites Controversy or theological discussion.

The internal organisation of this inventory follows some simple principles. Normally, the title is taken from the text. It can either be the original title, or one put on the back of the document, probably by the person who arranged the documents at the Collegio Romano. If the title is missing, because the manuscript is incomplete or damaged, then a general title has been given and placed within brackets to show that it is not authentic. The papers are arranged chronologically. Undated documents have been given an approximate date taken from the context. This approximate date has also been placed within brackets. Where it has not been possible to give an approximate date, the document has been left undated and placed at the end of the list.

The only other information supplied, apart from the date and author's name, is the number of sheets, in order to provide an idea of the size of the documents.

The National Library also houses a collection of Jesuit printed books. The collection is partly composed of works on the diffusion of the Catholic religion, adapted editions of sacred texts or prayer books plus many other works to divulge western technological and scientific knowledge and valuable editions of classical Chinese texts.

The whole collection is an important piece of evidence that testifies to the intellectual interests of the Jesuits over a period of more than three centuries and reflects the profound culture that is always associated with the Jesuits.

- 1) CONTUGO CONTUGHI Ges. 150
- Relatione della gran città del Quinsay
et del Re della China fatta dal S.re Contugo
Contughi l'anno 1583. All'Ill.S.E. Luigi
Gonzaga.*
(post 1583)
- (cc.204r - 213r)
-
- 2) MICHELE RUGGIERI, S.J. Ges. 1276
- Catechismi sinici paraphrasis.*
(1590-1591)
- (cc.1r - 51r)
-
- 3) [Opere di Confucio, Mencio e altri autori
cinesi, scelte e tradotte in latino] Ges. 1185
- (1591-1593)
- (cc.11r - 181r)
-
- 4) NICCOLO' LONGOBARDO, S.J. Ges. 1252/6
- Annotacoes sobre o nome Tien Chu.*
Pechino, 2 settembre 1633
- (Due copie dello stesso testo:
cc.250r-263v; cc.264r-275r)

5) FRANCISCO FURTADO, S.J.

Ges. 1251/3

*Scriptum P. Francisci Furtado V.
Provincialis Sinensis ad P. Antonium
Rubinum visitatorem Japoniae et Chinae
et ad Patrem Praepositum Generalem,
missum die 8 febr. 1640 cui titulus est:
Respuesta à 12 preguntas que propuso el
P.Fr. Juan Bautista de Morales dell'Orden
de Santo Domingo de Manilla à los Padres
dela Compagnia de Jesus que trabaian en
la predicacion del S.to Evangelio en el
regno de la gran China. Anno 1640.
1640*

(cc.132r - 167r)

6) ANTONIO RUBINO, S.J. - DIEGO DE MORALES, S.J.

Ges. 1249/4

*Resposta ad calumnias q.os Padres de Domingo
et de S. Francisco impoem aos Pes da Comp.a de Iesus,
que se occupao na conversao do Reino da China,
feita no anno de 1641.
1641*

(cc.59r - 106r)

7) JUAN BAUTISTA DE MORALES, O.P.

Ges. 1254/35

*Dubitationes gravissimae quae circa novam
conversionem et Christianitatem Regni Magni
Chinarum occurrunt.
(1643)*

(cc.350r - 356r)

- 8) ANTONIO FRANCISCO CARDIM, S.J. Ges. 1254/25

*Breve informatione del modo nel quale li
Padri della Compagnia di Giesù si deportarono
nella China per beneficio di quella Chri-
stianità.*

Roma, 22 luglio 1644

(Tre copie dello stesso testo:

cc.259r-266r; cc.267r-272r; cc.274r-278v)

- 9) LUDOVICO BUGLIO, S.J. Ges. 1305

*Tractatus de Mathematicae Praefectura quam
exercet in Regno Sinarum P. Adamus Scial.*

1649

(cc.45r - 55v)

- 10) GABRIEL DE MAGALHÃES, S.J. Ges. 1305

*Tractatus de Mathematicae Praefectura
quam iussu Regis Sinensis administrat P.
Joannes Adamus Societatis Jesu.*

Pechino, 22 febbraio 1652

(cc.1r - 31v)

- 11) NICOLAS TRIGAULT, S.J. Ges. 1305

[Lettera a Francisco Furtado, S.J.]

(Prima metà secolo XVII)

(cc.39r - 43r)

- 12) *Scriptum contra formam Baptismi in lingua Sinica et Tun-kinica. Retroscriptum pro manuscripto P.Philippi de Marinis contra Rescriptum Patris Metelli Saccani.* Ges. 1254/19
1654

(cc.232r - 238v)

- 13) GIOVANNI FILIPPO DE MARINI, S.J. Ges. 1254/44
[Lettera al P. Assistente del Portogallo]
1655

(cc.468r - 477r)

- 14) *Dissertatione teologica in cui s'esamina se possa dirsi che l'decreto d'Alessandro VII intorno ai riti cinesi fu surrettizio.* Ges. 709/3
(post 1656)

(cc.33r - 51r)

- 15) LUIS DA GAMA, S.J. Ges. 1249/8

Extracto das ordens e cousas de mayor Momento que nossos M.RR.PP.GG. enviarao aestas Prov.as de Japao e China des dos annos de 1618.
Macao, 16 ottobre 1665

(Due copie dello stesso testo:
cc.444r-467r; cc.469r-489r)

16) PHILIPPE COUPLET, S.J.

Ges. 1314

*Ex prolegominis ad Annales Sinicos nec
non synopsim chronologicam auctore P.
Philippo Couplet Societatis Jesu, anno 1666 in
provincia Quam Tum.
Canton, 1666*

(cc.1r - 67r)

17) ANTONIO CABALLERO DE SANTA MARIA, O.F.M.

Ges. 1251/1

*Relaçion de la persecuçion que en este
Reyno de la gran China se levanto contra
nra S.ta Fee, Y sus predicadores, ano del
S.R. de 1664. Dirigida a nro R.mo P. Gen.l
de toda la Seraphica Familia Franciscana
por Fr. Antonio de S.ta Maria, Indigno
hijo della, preffecto App.co eiusdem Ordinis
Minoris, en este Reyno de la China.
Canton, 11 settembre 1667*

(cc.4r - 66r)

18) FRANÇOIS DE ROUGEMONT, S.J.

Ges. 1257/29

*Duo sunt de quibus hic quaeritur: primum,
an ex Neophytis Sinensibus assumi debeant
aliqui ad ordines sacerdotales. Secundum,
an hi patria an vera latina lingua in sacris
uti debeant.
1667*

(cc.316bis r - 326r)

19) PROSPERO INTORCETTA, S.J.

Ges. 1249/10

Apologetica Disputatio recentior P. Prosperi Intorcetta. De Officiis et Ritibus, quibus Sinenses memoriam recolunt Confucii Magistri sui, et progenitorum suorum vitae functorum. Ex occasione cuiusdam Tractatus hispanice conscripti a R.P. Fratre Dominico de Navarrete ordinis Praedicatorum 8 martii anno 1668 quem obtulit Patri V. Provinciali Sinensi S. Jesu legendum atque examinandum eodem anno, quo in urbe Cantoniensi coactus est coetus Patrum Sinensium pro discutiendis rebus Sinicae Missionis.
 Quam Chen fu, 4 agosto 1668

(cc.637r-690r)

20) PROSPERO INTORCETTA, S.J.

Ges. 1326

Apologetica disputatio recentior Patris Prosperi Intorcetta Soc. Jesu. De officiis, et Ritibus quibus Sinenses memoriam recolunt Confucii Magistri Sui, et Progenitorum suorum vitae functorum. Ex occasione cuiusdam Tractatus hispanice conscripti à R.P. Fratre Dominico de' Navarrete ordinis Praedicatorum 8 Martii Anno 1668 quem obtulit Patri Vice Provinciali Sinensi Societatis Jesu Legendum atque examinandum, eodem anno, quo in urbe Cantoniensi coactus est coetus Patrum Sinensium pro discutiendis rebus Sinicae Missionis.

Quam Chen Fu, 4 Agosto 1668

(cc.1r-109r)

21) FRANCESCO DE FERRARIIS, S.J.

Ges. 1257/18

*Apud Sinas in signum reverentiae
tegendum esse caput.*

10 Dicembre 1668

(cc.149bis r-154v)

22) ADRIEN GRELON, S.J.

Ges. 1257/18

*An deceat, et expediat Xrianos Sinas
aperto capite sacro interesse et Sacerdoti
Sacris operanti ministrare? Dissertatio.*

10 Dicembre 1668

(cc.155r-158r)

*Appendix dissertationis de pileo Sinico
in templo a christianis gestando vel non
gestando.*

10 Dicembre 1668

(cc.159r-161v)

23) JACQUES LE FAURE, S.J.

Ges. 1250/3

*Dissertatio Theologico-historica de
avita Sinarum pietate, praesertim erga
defunctos, et eximia erga Confucium
magistrum suum observantia.*

Canton, Febbraio 1669

(cc.145r-250v)

- 24) FRANCESCO BRANCATI, S.J. Ges. 1251/8

*Responsio Apostologetica de Sinensium
Ritibus Politicis ad R.P. Dominicum
Navarrete Ordinis Praedicatorum.
4 Settembre 1669*

(cc.349r-354v)

*Responsio ad dubia R.P.F. Dominici
Navarrete Ord. Praedicatorum de Sinensibus
ritibus.
1 Giugno 1669*

(cc.357r-409r)

- 25) FRANCESCO BRANCATI, S.J. Ges. 1250/5

*Responsio Apologetica de Sinensium
Ritibus Politicis ad R.P. Dominico
Navarrete Ordinis praedicatorum.
4 Settembre 1669*

(cc.317r-478r)

- 26) FRANCESCO BRANCATI, S.J. Ges. 1498

*Responsio Apologetica de Sinensium
Ritibus Politicis ad P.F. Dominico
Navarrete Ordinis Praedicatorum.
1669*

(cc.2r-213v)

27) FERDINAND VERBIEST, S.J.

Ges. 1257/33

Responsum apologeticum P. Ferdinandi Verbiest Societatis Jesu ad aliquot dubia a P.F. Dominico Navarrete S. ae Congregationi proposita, in quibus Patres Societatis Jesu Pekinenses potissimum sugillare videtur.
(1669)

(cc.345r-372r)

28) FERDINAND VERBIEST, S.J.

Ges. 1383/23

Responsum apologeticum P. Ferdinandi Verbiest Soc. Jesu ad aliquot dubia a P.Fr. Dominico Navarrete S. ae Con. ni proposita, in quib. PP. Soc. Jesu Pekinenses potissimum sugillare videtur.
(1669)

(cc.360r-361v)

29) FRANCESCO BRANCATI, S.J.

Ges. 1299

[Trattato de' Riti politici de' Cinesi].
(1699)

(cc.1r-89v)

30) *Dell'irriverenza dello scrittore della Apologia verso le Sacre Congreg. ni e la S. Sede Apostolica.*
(1669)

Ges. 1257/24

(cc.219bis r -255v)

31) FRANÇOIS NOËL, S.J.

Ges. 1257/36

*Quaestiones et responsiones circa ritus
exequiarum Christianae religionis.*
1670

(cc.399bis r-409v)

32) PHILIPPE COUPLET, S.J.

Ges. 1254/24

De notitia veri Dei apud Sinenses.
Prosecutio proemialis Romam missa ad
P. Prosperum Intorcetta. Auctore P.
Philippo Couplet. Circa annum 1670.
1670

(cc.257r-258v)

33) PROSPERO INTORCETTA, S.J.

Ges. 1257/14

Alli Eminentissimi Signori Cardinali
della Sacra Congreg.ne de propaganda Fide.
Si tratta delle condizioni che si richiedono
in quelli cinesi che si hanno da promuovere
alla dignità sacerdotale. Si difende il
privilegio concesso a Padri Missionari
della Comp.a nella Cina de Paulo V circa
la Versione della Biblia, Messale, Breviario etc.
in lingua cinese polita e propria de
letterati cinesi.

Roma, 24 marzo 1672

(cc.102bis r-113r)

34) FRANÇOIS PALLU, M.E.P.

Ges. 1504/1

*Replica di Mons. di Eliopoli alla
scrittura fatta in difesa delli
missionari della Compagnia, la quale
scrittura fu fatta dal pr. Marino
Secret.io e data a Mons. Cerri.
1672*

(cc.1r-24v)

35) *Sommario degli eccessi de' PP. della 'Compagnia ne'Regni soggetti alli Vicari Ap.lici.*

Ges. 1504/2

(Due copie dello stesso testo:
1672-1673: cc.26r-35v
1676: cc.36r-46v)

36) *Instruttione data dal Príncipe di Portogallo al suo ambasciatore in Roma, acciò tratti con sua S.tà che non s'innovi cosa alcuna nelle missioni de Oriente e non si pregiudichi alli suoi privilegi, et indulti impatronati ed altro e non si mandino missionarii o vescovi francesi per governatori di quella nova christianità. 9 Febbraio 1674*

Ges. 1383/22

(cc.356r-357r)

37) *Saggio di riflessioni circa l'opera intitolata: Apologia dei PP. Domenicani Missionari della China. (Post 1674)*

Ges. 1250/4

(cc.256r-313r)

- 38) *Varie oppositioni fatti dalli Vicarij
Apost. a Missionarij della Compagnia nel
Oriente e date al P. Marino dal Mgr.
Cerri, Segretario della Propaganda acciò
risponda.*
1675

(cc.1r-16v)
- 39) GIOVANNI FILIPPO DE MARINI, S.J. Ges. 1384/12

*Difesa dell'innocenza di Gio .
Filippo de Marini sacerdote professo
della Comp.a di Gesù. Contra le false
informationi che ne hanno scritto
certuni residenti nel regno di Tumkino.
Alli Eminentissimi e Rev.mi SS.ri
Cardinali della Sacra Congregazione
de Propaganda Fide.*
Macao, 3 Dicembre 1676

(cc.133v-142v)
- 40) *Lettera scritta dal Pre Ge.le alli Sig.ri
C.li della Cong.ne deputata*
Maggio 1679

(Due copie dello stesso
testo: cc.1r-2r; cc.3r-4r)
- 41) *Alla S.Cong.ne de Propaganda Fide per il
P. Provinciale Generale della Comp.a di
Gesù. Memoriale.*
1679

Ges. 1495

(Undici copie dello stesso
testo: cc.5r-10v; 11r-16v; 17r-22v;
23r-28v; 29r-34v; 35r-40v; 41r-46v;
47r-52v; 53r-58v; 59r-64v; 65r-70v)

- 42) *Risposta del P. Galeno al Mons. d'Eliopoli.* Ges. 1495
1679

(Due copie dello stesso testo:
cc.71r-74v; 75r-78v)

- 43) *Alla S.Cong.ne de Propaganda Fide per il* Ges. 1495
P. Generale della Comp.a di Giesù.
1680

(Tre copie dello stesso testo:
cc.79r-80v; 81r-82v; 83r-84v)

- 44) *P.Gen.li Oliva revocat in Europam* Ges. 1495
missionarios iussu S.Congregationis.
1680

(cc.85r-86r)

- 45) *Alla S.Cong.ne de Propaganda Fide per* Ges. 1495
il P.Procuratore Pr.le della Comp.a di
Giesù. Risposta a dui Mem.li di
Mons. Vesc.o d'Eliopoli.
1680

(Tre copie coeve dello stesso
testo: cc.87r-88v; 89r-90v; 91r-92v)

- 46) *Risposta ad una scrittura del P. Generale della Compagnia, che comprende due Discorsi, che fece contro i Vicari Ap.lici della China; in due congressi degl'Emi. Sig.ri Cardinali deputati.* Ges. 1496

(Due copie dello stesso testo:

1679: cc.32r-63v

1680: cc.1r -31r)

- 47) GIANDOMENICO GABIANI, S.J. Ges. 1257/3

*De latinae linguae usu sinensibus
alumnis non necessario indicendo.
Dissertatio.*

1680

(cc.9r-18v)

- 48) GIANDOMENICO GABIANI, S.J. Ges. 1249/5

*De ritibus Ecclesiae Sinicae permissis.
Apologetica Dissertatio.*

1680

(111r-158v)

Apologeticae dissertationis Appendix.

1680

(Due copie dello stesso testo:

cc.159r-179v; cc.181r-196v -incompleta)

Apologetica Synopsis.

1680

(cc.199r-205v)

- 49) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1249/7

*Praeludium ad plenam disquisitionem
an bona vel mala fide impugnetur Opiniones,
et Praxes Missionariorum Societatis Jesu
in Regno Sinarum. Ad cultum Confucii et
defunctorum pertinentes.*

Macao, 1683

(Due copie dello stesso testo:
cc.354r-393v; 398r-431v)

*Brevis notitia. Eorum quae tractabuntur in capite
5° Tractatus, qui inscribitur Praeludium ad plenam
Disquisitionem an bona vel mala fide impugnetur
opiniones, et Praxes Missionariorum Societatis Jesu
in regno Sinarum, ad cultum Confucii et Defunctorum
pertinentes.*

Macao, 23 marzo 1683

(cc.432r-437v)

- 50) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1247/8

*Sagitta retorta seu Sagittae in Innocentes
gratis intortae, in ipsos iaculantes, defen-
sionis gratia retortae.*

Macao, 13 Agosto 1683

(cc.223r-311r)

- 51) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1247/9

*Sagitta retorta seu Sagittae in Innocentes
gratis intortae, in ipsos iaculantes, defen-
sionis gratia retortae.*

Macao, 13 Agosto 1683

(cc.316r-424v)

- 52) [Relazione sulla situazione delle missioni
dei gesuiti in Cina alla fine del XVII secolo]
(post 1684)

(cc.203v-246v) Ges. 1252/5
- 53) *Razones que se han de representar a su
Santidad a favor de la Mission de la
China, Tumquin y Cochinchina, representolas
el P.e Gen.l a su S. en 19 de Diz.de 1688.*
19 Dicembre 1688

(cc.23bis rv) Ges. 1256/5
- 54) *Memoriale presentato dal P. Alessandro
Ciceria Monsignor Cybo Secretario della
Cong.ne de prop.da per essere da lui revisto
et emendato an.1688.*
1688

(cc.93r-94v) Ges. 1495
- 55) *Memoriale corretto da Monsignor Cybo e per
suo ordine presentato alli Sig.ri Card.li
della Cong.ne particolare de prop.da an.1688.*
1688

(cc.96r-97r) Ges. 1495
- 56) *Systeme abregé des Rites de la pieté
filiale des Chinois par l'Empereur Camhi.*
1691

(cc.12r-21v) Ges. 1256/4

- 57) *S.Congreg.Indicis. In causa libri
Defensio novorum Christianorum.*
(1693)

(cc.25bis r -27v)

Ges. 1256/6
- 58) *Osservazioni al Secondo Capo del Mandato
Maigroziano intorno le Tabelle XingTien:
Coelum, hoc est Coeli Domino colito.*
(post 1693)

(cc.1r-126v)

Ges. 1252/1
- 59) *De notitia Dei apud Sinas contra Maigrotium.*
(post 1693)

(cc.338r-397v)

Ges. 1252/9
- 60) *Sillogistica Dimostrazione che la Delazione
Testimoniale di Mons.Maigrot della Sacra
Cong.ne del S.to Uff.o sopra le voci e
Riti Cinesi non può attendersi né far fede
ad alcun Tribunale del Mondo.*
(post 1693)

(cc.217bis r -218r)

Ges. 1257/23
- 61) *Propter veritatem et Iustitiam....; Psal.44
La giustizia e la verità in favore delle
controversie e riti cinesi, verso Confucio
filosofo e verso i loro progenitori defunti:
permessi per decreto di Alessandro Papa
settimo. Con alcune osservazioni sopra il*

Ges. 1252/8

*mandato del Reverendissimo Signor D. Maigrot
che tali riti proibisce.*
(post 1693)

(cc.286r-334r)

62) [Gruppo di carte riguardanti i contrasti
sorti tra i PP.Portoghesi e i PP. Francesi]

Ges. 1254/41

LOUIS LE COMTE, S.J.,

*Libellus supplex oblatuſ Praepoſiti Generali
Societatis Jeſu 4 Aprilis 1694 à Padre Ludo-
vico de Comte Miſſionario Gallo in Regno
Sinarum, inde à Miſſionariis Gallis Romam miſſo.*
1694; (cc.426r-428v)

*Libelluſ ſupplex oblatuſ P. Generali ab
Aſſiſtente Luſitaniae 14 Aprilis 1694 contra
ea quae petebat P. Ludovicuſ de Comte Miſſio-
nariuſ Galluſ.*
1694; (cc.429r-430v)

[Epistola di P. Giovanni Francesco Nicolai da
Leonessa, O.F.M. a destinatario sconosciuto]
Nanchino, 19 Luglio 1691; (cc.433r-435v)

*Exemplar epistolarum a P.Michaele De Amaral
ad P.Josep. Soarez rectorum pekinensem.*
Canton, 13 Dicembre 1690; (cc.436r-439v)

[Due epistole del P. Miguel do Amaral, S.J.
a destinatario sconosciuto]
Luglio 1691; (cc.440r-444r)

*Excerptum ex apologia scripta ab Episcopo
Luſitano Romam miſſo a rege ad defendendum
iuſ Patronatuſ regum Luſitanorum in
Indias Orientales.*
1694; (cc.445r-448r)

JEAN CHARLES DE BROSSE, S.J.
Relatio circa dissentionem inter PP.
Lusitanos et Gallos.
 1691; (cc.450r-453r)

63) AUGUSTIN DE SAN PASCUAL, O.F.M.

Ges. 1249/6

Excerpta ex Tractatu R. di P.Fr.
Augustini a S. Pasquali ord. Minorum in
Sinis Missionarij cui titulus: Opuscolo
fiscal de conciencia super ritibus, ac
praxi missionariorum in metropoli
cantoniensi scripto 2 Febr. 1694.
 (1694); (cc.212r-213v)

Respuesta al papal escrito por el M.
R.P.Fr. Bartolomè Marron del orden
de Predicadores contra la 4 opinion
de las tablillas sinicas.
 (1694); (cc.214r-249r)

Respuesta a la carta del Senor Abbad
de Leon.
 1694; (cc.251r-272v)

Carta de un doctor en Theologia a un
Missionero de China 10 de Majo de 1687.
 (1687); (cc.276r-347r)

64) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J.

Ges. 1383/18

De necessitate Sacerdotum Sinensium et
Dispensationis pro sacrificio in Lingua
Sinensi.
 Pechino, 15 Agosto 1695
 (cc.332r-337r)

65) JEAN DE FONTANEY, S.J.

Ges. 1254/20

*Nouvelles de la Chine ecrites de Peking
au mois de 7bre, 8bre et de 9bre 1695 par
le P.e De Fontaney.
Pechino, 1695*

(cc.239r - 243v)

66) *Historia seu enarratio eorum quae Eminen-
tissimus Cardinalis Janson 1695 2 Januarii
postulavit nomine regis Christianissimi in
favorem missionariorum Gallorum pro Surata
Bengala, Abrahin Negor et Colchonde; et
pro Missionarijs Sinensibus a Praeposito
Generali Societatis et quid P. Generalis
concesserit.
1695*

Ges. 1256/29

(cc.293bis r - 308v)

67) *Alcune notazioni da porsi sotto li Prudent.mi
et sanctissimi riflessi di S.S.tà sopra gli
affari della Cina.
(post 1695)*

Ges. 1256/40

(cc.383bis r - 384r)

68) *Risposta alla L.ra de' Sig.ri del Seminario
delle Missioni Straniere al Papa intorno
alle Cerimonie Cinesi.
(1696 circa)*

Ges. 1257/21

(cc.188bis r - 195r)

69) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J.

Ges. 1254/9

*De necessitate Sacerdotum Sinensium, et
Dispensationis pro sacrificio in Lingua Sinensi.*
12 gennaio 1698

(cc.59r-64v)

70) JEAN FRANÇOIS MALATRA, S.J.

Ges. 1298

*Discussio notarum D. Nicolai Charmot
in Observationes Sacrae Congregationi
S. Officii exhibitas nomine Societatis
Jesu super mandato R.mi D.ni Caroli
Maigrot Ap.lici de rebus Sinensibus.*
1698

(cc.1r-36r)

71) *Libellus supplex a Societate Jesu Sanc-
tissimo Oblatus Mense Maio anno 1698
super rebus et controversiis Sinensibus
velut Compendiolum grandioris voluminis
Sacrae Congregationi Sancti Officii.
Antea exhibiti.*
1698

Ges. 1514

(cc.1r-59v)

72) GIOVANNI FRANCESCO DE' NICOLAI DA
LEONESSA, O.F.M.

Ges. 1250/2

*Risposta di Fra Gio. Francesco da
Leonessa Min. Osserv.te Riformato Vescovo
eletto di Berito e V.co Apostolico di*

Hu Quang in China alli punti contenuti nel decreto fatto nella Congregatione particolare del Sant'Offitio, tenutasi in casa dell'Emin.mo Casanati, sopra le cose di detta China à di 30 di giugno 1699 et inviato da Monsign. Sperelli Assessor di detto Sacro Tribunale al detto P.re perchè rispondesse conforme all'ordine contenuto in Detto Decreto.
Roma, 11 luglio 1699

(cc.91r-126v)

(Segue un'appendice della quale è autore
P. Jean François Malatra)
(cc.128r-139r)

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 73) <i>Notizie intorno all'uso delle voci Cinesi Thien Coelum et Xamti Alti Dominus overo Supremus Imperator. Proposte e presentate alla Sacra Congregatione del Sant'Offizio per parte della Compagnia di Gesù in agosto 1699.</i>
1699 | Ges. 1511 |
|---|-----------|

(cc.2r-49v)

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 74) <i>Vindicae scriptorum Nicolai Charmot Procuratoris Generalis R.mi D.ni Maigrot aliorumq. Eporum ac Vicariorum Apostolicorum Gallorum Asiae Orientalis contra Dilucidationes pro Societate Jesu super rebus et ritibus sinensibus, idiomate Italo nuper exhibitae, oblatae Sacrae Cong.ni S.ti Officii die 2da septembris 1699.</i>
2 settembre 1699 | Ges. 1512 |
|---|-----------|

(cc.1r-35r)

- 75) *Breve ristretto delle Notizie già dedotte circa l'uso delle Tabelle colle parole cinesi King Tien Coelum colito presentato alla Sacra Congregatione del Sant'Offizio in settembre 1699.* Ges. 1508
Settembre 1699

(cc.2r-14r)

- 76) *Breve ristretto delle Notizie già dedotte circa l'uso delle Tabelle colle parole cinesi King Tien Coelum colito presentato alla Sacra Congregatione del Sant'Offizio in settembre 1699.* Ges. 1509
Settembre 1699

(cc.2r-11v)

- 77) *Informazioni e suppliche alla Sacra Congregazione del S.Offizio Presentate da Padri deputati dalla Compagnia di Gesù per informare intorno alle controversie cinesi, li 31 ottobre 1699.* Ges. 1303
31 ottobre 1699

(cc.2r-20v)

- 78) *Ristretto delle notizie circa l'uso della voce cinese Xamti, che significa Supremus Imperator o vero Alti Dominus e della voce Tien che significa Coelum.* Ges. 1510
1699

(cc.1r-16r)

- 79) *Dubia proposita a P.NN. Societatis Jesu circa controversiam rerum Sinensium quae fervet Romae anno 1699.* Ges. 1257/5
1699

(cc.25bis r-28r)

- 80) JOSEPH DE JOUVANCY, S.J. Ges. 1256/25
Sinensis Controversiae Explicatio. Per interrogationes et responsiones dilucide ac breviter tractata.
1699

(cc.265bis r - 274r)

- 81) *Quaeritur an permitti possit ut appendantur in Ecclesiis Christianorum tabella inscripta his vocibus King Tien: Coelum colito.* Ges. 1383/15
Quaeritur an Confucius colatur apud Sinas ut Sanctus, an Habeat sacella et templa ubi sacrificia et oblationes ipsi fiant.
(1699)

(cc.131v-132v)

- 82) [Memoriale di denuncia contro l'Abate Nicolas Charmot il quale aveva accusato i Gesuiti di aver violato le Costituzioni Apostoliche in materia di Giansenismo]. Ges. 1383/6
(1699 circa)

(cc.33r-36r)

- 83) *Missionarij ex natione Sinica quos nunc Societas habet in regno Sinarum.* Ges. 1254/23
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.256r-257v)

- 84) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1256/36

Breve noticia das ceitas e errores gentilicos da China.
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.334bis r - 337r)

- 85) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1248/3

Tractatus P.is Francisci Philippucci de Ritibus Sinicis quem in suo praeludio promittit.
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.115r-302r)

- 86) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1249/9

Notae super Lyky (cc.497r-510r)
Notae super Xi Kim (cc.512r-520r)
Notae in Ye Kim (cc.522r-548v)
Notae in Kia Ly (cc.552r-562)
Ulterior oppositio PP. Dominicanorum contra explicationem 37 textuum P.is Philippucci (cc.564r-576v)
Notae super opera P.Fr. Dominici Navarrete (cc.580r-602v)

(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

87) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1248/1

Explicação de 37 Textos Sinicos, e resposta aos Apontamentos feitos sobre elles, com os quaes se pretende provar, que os Chinas ex vide suas Doutrinas e Ritos antigos, pedem merces à seus defuntos esperão nelles e crem que decem as Taboinas e seus miaos ou Aulas destinadas pera seu culto.

(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.2r-31v)

88) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1383/11

P. Philippucci Explicatio 37 Textum Sinicorum. Ulterior oppositio PP. Dominicanarum. Notae P. Philippucci in Ly Ki pro responsione ad ulteriorem oppositionem.

(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.70r-98v)

89) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J. Ges. 1250/1

Explicatio 37 Textuum Sinensium et responsa ad aliquas observationes circa illos, quibus nonnulli praetendunt probare, sinenses ex vi suae doctrinae et antiquorum rituum petere beneficia a suis defunctis, in illisque sperare et credere ipsos descendere ad tabellas, sive miaos vel aulas illorum cultui destinatas.

(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.2r-87v)

90) FRANCESCO SAVERIO FILIPPUCCI, S.J.

Ges. 1251/6

*Explicatio 37 textuum sinensium et
respons ad aliquas observationes circa
illos quibus nonnulli praetendunt probare
Sinenses ex vi suae doctrinae et antiquorum
rituum petere beneficia a suis defunctis in
illisque sperare et credere ipsos descendere
ad tabella; sive mias vel aulas illorum
cultui destinatas.*

(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.275r-294r)

91) LOUIS LE COMTE, S.J.

Ges. 1257/15

[Memoriale al S. Padre sulla
questione dei Riti]

(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.115r-117v)

92) PEDRO MUÑOZ, O.P.

Ges. 1254/2

*Quaestio unica de Baptismo et de
valore eius in forma Sinica consueta.*

(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.9r-18v)

93) GIOVANNI FRANCESCO DE' NICOLAI DA
LEONESSA, O.F.M.

Ges. 1246/3

*Scripturae exhibitae ab Ill.mo ac R.mo
Domino Fr. Ioanne Francisco de Nicolais
Episcopi Beritensis.*

(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.125r-222v)

- 94) *Riflessione in difesa de' PP. della Comp.a di Gesù Missionari nella Cina sopra la loro condotta nel convertire quei Popoli.* Ges. 1248/4
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.332r-333r)

- 95) *In causa Sinensi pro Gesuitis. Si persuade a Giudici di questa causa considerare la qualità degli Accusatori sugli esempi preteriti d'altre accuse false date da essi a Gesuiti.* Ges. 1248/4
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.346r-366v)

- 96) [Calunnie diffuse su P. Diego de Morales, S.J. e la necessità di dimostrare la sua santità] Ges. 1256/30
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.310bis r - 311r)

- 97) *Domande fatte ai Christiani della China da un sacerdote secolare mandato da Mons.e Vescovo di Berito.* Ges. 1383/19
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.340r-344r)

- 98) *Brevis notitia de Authore huius Apologiae.* Ges. 1383/20
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.347r-348r)

- 99) [Alcune considerazioni sulla Questione dei Riti]
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.58^{bis} r-59v) Ges. 1256/8
- 100) *Alcune riflessioni intorno alle cose presenti della Cina.*
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.400r-423v) Ges. 1252/10
- 101) *Avis sur les extraits du 2. tome de Navarrete. La plupart sont pour faire voir ses mensonges par les contradictions ou il tombe. Les autres sont pour l'opposer a Mr. Maigrot.*
(Seconda metà sec. XVII)

(cc.307r-308v) Ges. 1253/52
- 102) *Verificatio quorundam punctorum ab Ill.mo D.no Assessore S.Officii propositorum mense Martio 1700.*
1700

(cc.66r-69r) Ges. 1254/11
- 103) *Verificatio quorundam punctorum ab Ill.mo D.no Assessore S.Officii propositorum mense martio 1700.*
1700

(cc.55^{bis} r-59v) Ges. 1257/8

- 104) [Memoriale dei PP. Gesuiti intorno alla controversia sui riti cinesi]
1700

(cc.197r-216v) Ges. 1257/22
- 105) *Informatio ad PP. Missionarios Sinicos pro maximis controversiis et litigiis quae nunc Romae et in tota Europa maxime turbant et inquiebant Societatem.*
1700

(cc.365r-367v) Ges. 1383/24
- 106) *Miraculum quater repetitum in Provinciis Xamtum et Chekiang. Miraculum bis evenit in urbe Ci nan fu provincia Xamtum.*
1700

(cc.251bis r-252r) Ges. 1256/23
- 107) *Animadversiones Generales circa libros, ac textus Sinicos a PP. Soc. Jesu deputatis ad informandum in causa Sinensi proposita S.Cong.ni S.Offitij. Die 16 Augusti 1700.*
16 Agosto 1700

(cc.34bis r - 56v) Ges. 1256/7

108) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J.

Ges. 1251/4

*Tractatus Apologeticus contra expositionem
factam nomine Reverendissimi D.ni Caroli
Maigrot Vicarii Apostolici et oblatam Sacrae
Congregationi super declaratione eius circa
nonnullos sinicos usus.*

Pechino, 26 settembre 1700

(cc.174r-229r)

109) ALVARO DE BENAVENTE, O.E.S.A

Ges. 1386/30

*Particula Epistola P.Alvari
Benavente ex ordine S.Augustini, olim
Provincialis Philippinarum, nunc vero
Episcopi Ascalonensis et Vicarii
Apostolici Provinciae Kiangsi in Regno
Sinarum. Ex urbe Nanganfu 25 nov.bis 1700.
25 novembre 1700*

(cc.202r-207r)

110) *Capo 2: Serie Istorica dell'operato nella
Causa de' Riti e vocaboli Cinesi controversi.
Capo 3: Stato presente delle Controversie
Cinesi.*

Ges. 1256/19

(post 1700)

(cc.189bis r-215v)

- 111) *Alla Sacra Congreg.ne della Santa Inquisizione per li Padri della Compagnia di Gesù.* Ges. 1257/4
 [Memoriale sulla questione dei Riti]
 19 Gennaio 1701

(cc.21bis r-24r)

- 112) EMANUELE LAURIFICE, S.J. Ges. 1257/6

*Brevis ac restricta Lucubratio, in qua
 tum ratione, tum veterum auctoritate
 plurimisq. testimoniis probatur priscos
 Sinas non fuisse penitus ignaros Supremi
 Luminis, creberrime item voce Coelum
 fuisse usos quod distingunt in materiale
 visibile, et immateriale, invisibile,
 atque supremum sub quo nomine venerantur
 Xam Tj Supremus Deus.*
 28 Ottobre 1701

(cc.29bis r-37v)

- 113) EMANUELE LAURIFICE, S.J. Ges. 1257/6

[Due Epistole al P. Antoine Thomas]
 20 Agosto 1701 (cc.38r-41r)

18 Agosto 1701 (cc.42r-43r)

- 114) *Testimonia PP.um Pekinensium de nomine Societatis contra calumniam aliquorum recentem.* Ges. 1254/28
 1701

(cc.289r-295r)

- 115) *Testimonium duorum Mandarinorum Christianorum de praxi PP. Adami Schall et Ferdinandi Verbiest circa Ritos Controversos.* Ges. 1254/27
Pechino, 18 novembre 1701

(Tre copie dello stesso testo:
cc.283v-288r)

- 116) *Testimonium P. Antonii de Barros S.J. de Tabella King Tien in Ecclesia PP. Dominicanorum.* Ges. 1256/32
Pechino, 27 Novembre 1701

(c.316rv)

- 117) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J. Ges. 1254/29

1701 mense Novembri Epistola Pis Antonij Thomae ad P.em Visitatorem Carolum Turcottum circa D.Maygrott et aliquot eius querelas.
1701

(c.296rv)

- 118) CLAUDE DE VISDELOU, S.J. Ges. 1254/37

[Lettera del P. Visdelou al P. Vice Provinciale Josè Monteiro, S.J.]
2 Aprile 1701; (c.361rv)

[Lettera del P.Visdelou al P. Turcotti, S.J.]
8 Aprile 1701; (cc.365r-366v)

Responsum ad Chartam Pis Visdelou de obtendo recens edicto Imperatoris.
s.d.; (c.367r)

[Lettera del P. Visdelou al P. Turcotti]
29 Aprile 1701; (cc.369r-375v)

*Tratado do P.Visdelou sobre os Ritus
Sinicos dos Progenitores.*

1701; (Due copie dello stesso testo:
cc.377r-382v; cc.383r-388v)

- 119) *Sinensi expensarum Expunctio Rationum
et solutio obsectorum, quae in
Responsio Assistentiae Lusitaniae
Proponuntur.* Ges. 1253/37
(post 1701)
(cc.310r-318r)

- 120) *Brevis relatio de insula Sanciano, deque
sepultura seu sepulchro primo S.Francisci
Xaverii Orientis Apostoli ornato et fide
Christi introducta in istam insulam.* Ges. 1257/1
(post 1701)

Precedono la relazione tre disegni a penna
riproducanti l'isola di Shangchuan dove
morì Francesco Saverio.
(cc.1bis r-4v)

- 121) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J. Ges. 1254/10
*Epistola scripta a P. Antonio Thomas
ad SS.D.N. cum notitiam habuissent in
China adventurum Nuntium Apostolicum.*
Pechino, 15 Novembre 1703
(c.265r)

122) FRANÇOIS NOËL, S.J.

Ges. 1256/35

*Ritus Sinenses iidem mortuorum ac
vivorum collecti ex libris Classicis
Sinarum a P.Francisco Noël Soc.Jesu
Missionario Sinensi per annos, dum
eos descripsit 18 Procuratore
Missionis Sinicae pro pacificandis
controversiis de Ritibus fieri in
China solitis Confucio et majoribus
mortuis. Anno 1703.
1703*

(cc.320bis r-331r)

123) *Decretum a SS.mo D.N.S. Clemente Divina*

Ges. 1256/22

*Providentia Papa XI in Sacra Congregatione
Romae et Universalis Inquisitionis die
20 Nov.is 1704 editum quo responsa data
a Praefata Congregatione aliquibus quaesitis
excerptis ex mandato seu edicto D.Caroli
Maigrot Vicarii Ap.lici Fokiensis in
Regno Sinarum nunc Episcopi Cononiensis
confirmantur et approbantur, die 20 no.bris 1704.
20 novembre 1704*

(cc.229bis r-230r)

124) [Considerazioni sul decreto del 1704]
(post 1704)

Ges. 1254/1

(cc.1r-8v)

125) [Minuta di una relazione da sottoporre
a S. Santità in seguito al decreto del
1704 e alla missione del Cardinale

Ges. 1253/31

Maillard de Tournon]
(1704 circa)

(cc.279r-280r)

- 126) *Facultas et privilegia concessa PP.Gallis apud Sinas et Indos degentibus a R.P.N. G.li ad Instantiam Regis Christ.mi.* Ges. 1246/6
(post 1704)

(cc.329r-362v)

- 127) *Osservazione intorno alla esposizione de' Riti Cinesi fatta alla Sacra Congregazione.* Ges. 1257/34
(post 1704)

(cc.373bis r-384r)

- 128) *Osservazione intorno alla esposizione de' Riti Cinesi fatta alla Sacra Congregazione.*
(post 1704)

(cc.386r-397v)

- 129) KASPAR CASTNER, S.J. Ges. 1247/5

Brevis relatio circa adventum Patrum aliquot Gallorum in Chinam et gravissimas inde ortas dissentiones cum maxima infamia Societatis et praesenti adhuc totius Missionis periculo.

Roma, marzo 1705

(cc.154r-174v)

130) JOSEPH MARIE ANNE DE MOYRIAC DE MAILLA, S.J.

*Responsum ad quaesita circa controversias
sinicas.* Ges. 1254/46

20 Settembre 1705

(cc.480r-491r)

131) *Analecta argumentorum pro sententia
Missionariorum Soc. Jesu circa
puncta in Ritibus Sinicis controversa.* Ges. 1257/27
Pechino, 5 Novembre 1705

(cc.272bis r-285r)

132) ALVARO DE BENAVENTE, O.E.S.A. Ges. 1251/5

*Quaestio 1 de cultu coeli - Quaestio
2 An cultus, quo Sinenses literati
Magistruum suum Confucium prosequuntur
sit superstitiosus.*

Canton, 15 Dicembre 1705

(cc.233r-282r)

133) *Analecta argumentorum pro Sententia
Missionariorum Soc. Jesu puncta in ritibus
Sinicis controversa.* Ges. 1251/5
1705

(cc.283r-295v)

134) KASPAR CASTNER, S.J.

Ges. 1464

*Brevis ac historica relatio Controversiae
de ritibus aliquot Sinicis ac vocibus ad
appellandum Deum optimum Maximum adhibendis.*
17 maggio 1705

(cc.19r-62r)

*Appendix de novis dubiis ab Illustrissimo
Rosaliensi propositis.*
1705

(cc.62v-65r)

[Due brevi relazioni al Pontefice Clemente XI]
1705

(cc.68r-70v)

135) *Scriptura et libri varii in controversia
de Coerimonijs aliquot et vocibus Sinicis
oblatis, inventi et publicati ab anno 1697
ad 1704.*
1705

Ges. 1464

(cc.1r-18v)

136) *Memoriale al Sommo Pontefice sopra la
Risposta del Procuratore del Sig. Card.
di Tournon ad altro Memoriale de Missio-
nari della Compagnia di Gesù.*
(post 1705)

Ges. 1256/12

(cc.65bis r-68v)

137) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J.

Ges. 1247/1

Compendium actorum Pekinensium.1705-1706.
Pechino, 27 ottobre 1706

(cc.2r-25v)

138) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J.

Ges. 1247/1

[Due epistole al P. Generale]

27 Ottobre 1706; cc.27r-28r
29 Ottobre 1706; cc.28r-28v

139) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J.

Ges. 1386/30

[Epistola al Cardinale Sacripante
Prefetto della Congregazione di
Propaganda Fide]
Pechino, 30 Ottobre 1706

(cc.215rv)

[Epistola a destinatario sconosciuto]
Pechino, 28 ottobre 1706

(cc.216rv)

140) KILIAN STUMPF, S.J.

Ges. 1252/2

Compendium actorum Pekinensium.1705-1706
Pechino, 1 Novembre 1706

(cc.131r-183r)

- 141) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J. Ges. 1246/4

Compendium actorum Pekinensium.1705-1706
Pechino, 1 Novembre 1706

(cc.228r-293r)

- 142) Acta Ill.mi D. Maigrot Ep.i Cononensis Ges. 1246/1

in Aula Pekinensi Imp.ris Sinarum.
Extracta ex documentis authenticis
missis ad S. Pontificem ab Imperatore.
Pechino, Dicembre 1706

(cc.3r-19v)

- 143) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J. - JEAN FRANÇOIS
GERBILLON, S.J. Ges. 1386/30

Epistola ad Superiores Singulorum
Ordinum qui sunt in Sinis.
Pechino, 28 Dicembre 1706

(Due copie dello stesso testo:
cc.209r-210r; cc.211r-212r)

- 144) ANTOINE THOMAS, S.J. - JEAN FRANÇOIS
GERBILLON, S.J. Ges. 1526/8

Epistola ad Superiores Singulorum
Ordinum qui sunt in Sinis.
28 Dicembre 1706

(c.144r-146r)

- 145) *Testimonia aliquorum sociorum Sinensium et Malabarensium super controversiis cum PP. Gallis in Sinis et in Malabaria.* Ges. 1248/4
1706

(cc.420r-435v)

- 146) *Extracta ex compendio historico actorum Pekinensium.* Ges. 1256/2
(post 1706)

(c.5bis rv)

- 147) *Extracta ex compendio actorum Pekinensium.* Ges. 1256/3
(post 1706)

(cc.7bis r - 9v)

- 148) *Extracta ex actis variis.* Ges. 1253/36
(post 1706)

(cc.206r-209r)

- 149) *Appellatio Missionariorum Societatis Jesu ad Summum Pontificem.* Ges. 1253/38
29 Maggio 1707

(cc.218r-221v)

- 150) *Appellatio Missionariorum Societatis Jesu ad Summum Pontificem contra Decretum D. Patriarchae Antiocheni.* Ges. 1253/39
29 maggio 1707

(cc.224r-227v)

- 151) ANTONIO DA SILVA, S.J. Ges. 1383/5

Extracta ex appellatione R.P. Antonii da Sylva Soc. Jesu Sede vacante constituti Vicarii Apostolici Episcopatus Nankinensis ab Ill.mo P.cha Antiocheno ad S.D.N. Clementem XI super decreto eiusdem D. Patriarchae cum 23 PP. Missionariis eiusdem Societatis.
1707

(cc.25r-28r)

- 152) *Extracta ex libello supplice Ill.mi et R.mi D.Bernardini ab Ecclesia Episcopi Pekinensis ex ordine S. Francisci.* Ges. 1383/2
(1707 circa)

(cc.13rv)

- 153) *Testimonium P.is Francisci Noël Procurat.is PP. Soc. Jesu in Imperio Sinarum existentium.* Ges. 1383/21
(1707 circa)

(cc.351r-353v)

*nari Francesi da D. Nicola di Fonseca
Sacerdote, nativo da Macao e Missionario
Apostolico nel regno di Cocincina.
(post 1708)*

(cc.61bis r - 62v)

158) FRANÇOIS NOËL, S.J.

Ges. 1257/16

*Notae in Decretum Ill.mi et Rev.mi D.
de Tournon Patriarchae Antiocheni circa
Sinenses Controversias.
Febbraio 1709*

(cc.120bis r - 122v)

159) *Defensio decreti Sacrae Congregationis
in Causa Sinarum anno 1704 die 20
novembris emanati, quae est responsio
ad objectiones contra idem factas.
3 luglio 1709*

Ges. 1248/4

(cc.396r-419v)

160) *Alla Santità di Nostro Sig.re Clemente XI
per il Procuratore del Sig.re Cardinale di
Tournon. Alli cinque Memoriali presentati
alla Santità Vostra dal Pre Provana
asserto Procuratore de' Missionari della
Compagnia di Gesù nella Cina, il Procura-
tore del Sig.re Cardinale di Tournon, per
soddisfare anche esso alla propria coscienza,
risponde come appresso a Capo a Capo,
secondo lo ordine degl'istessi.
Luglio 1709*

Ges. 1184

(cc.1r-32v)

*Repliche alle risposte del Procuratore del
Sig.re Card.le di Tournon alli cinque Memoriali
del Padre Provana della Compagnia di Gesù.
17 luglio 1709*

(cc.35r-50r)

*Alla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Clemente
XI per il Procuratore de' Missionari della
Cina della Compagnia di Gesù.
Alla risposta presentata alla Santità V.ra
dal Procuratore del S.re Cardinale di Tournon
sopra i Cinque Memoriali del P. Provana
Procuratore de' Missionari della Compagnia
di Gesù della Cina, replica il medesimo P.
Provana, per non mancare all'obbligo di una
necessaria difesa in materia così importante
ed offerisce a' piedi della Santità V.ra
le seguenti osservazioni sopra la sud.a
Risposta.
1709*

(cc.53r-78v)

161) [Memoriale in difesa dei PP. Gesuiti]
1709

Ges. 1248/4

(cc.334r-345v)

162) *Denunzia del libro intitolato: Difesa
del Giudizio formato dalla Santa Sede
Ap.lica intorno a' Riti e Cerimonie
Cinesi.
(post 1709)*

Ges. 1257/25

(cc.257bis r - 263r)

- 163) *Breve relazione di ciò che accadde a Monsig. di Turnon Legato a latere di S.S.tà Clemente XI partito da Canton e giunto in Pechin metropoli d.a Cina.*
1710

Ges. 1256/16

(cc.126bis r-141v)

- 164) [Raccolta di documenti vari - post 1710]

Ges. 1386/19

Epistola PP.Anthonij Thomae Vice provincialis Sinensis et Ioannis Francisci Gerbillon Superioris Generalis PP. Gallorum in Sinis data ad Superiores Singulorum Ordinum qui sunt in Sinis.
Pechino 28 Decm. 1706;

(cc.99r-100v)

Epistola ad Clementem XI Papam Caroli Maigrot Episcopi Conon. Vicarii Apostolici in Prov. Fokien Sinarum data ex civitate gallois in Hibernia 4 Maij 1708.;

(cc.101r-102v)

Supplex libellus oblatas Pontifici a PP. Sinen.1709;

(103r-102v)

Ex literis P.Petri Van Hame Soc. Jesu datis ex Imperio Sinensi 12 Martii 1710 ad P.Conradum Ianningum, Antwerpiam.

(cc.109v-111v)

*Transumptum literarum Ill.mi et Rev. Dom.
 Caroli Thomae de Tournon Patriarchae
 Antiochiae Visitatoris Apostolici in China
 Italico idiomate scriptarum ad Emm. Card.
 Paulacium.
 Nanhio Urbe Provinciae Quamtum 26 Sept. 1705.*

(cc.112r-115v)

- 165) *Resposta a Relaçam do R.P. Fr.Francisco
 Gonsales de S.Pedro.* Ges. 1256/15
 (post 1710)

(cc.98bis r-122v)

*Suplemento à Resposta Portuguesa contra
 a relação do R.P. Fr. Fran.co G.lis de
 S.Pedro da S. Ordem de S. Domingos.*
 (post 1710)

(cc.123r-124v)

- 166) [Narrazione degli eventi verificatisi Ges. 1253/35
 dal 14 al 18 novembre 1714 a Pechino]
 1714

(cc.204r-205r)

- 167) KILIAN STUMPF, S.J. Ges. 1254/6

*P. Stumpf Visitator contra sententia
 Kinisticas.
 Pechino, 6 Novembre 1715*

(cc.49r-51v)

- 168) *Specimen doctrinae P.Ioannis Francisci Fouquet circa libros sinicos, excerptae ex eius literis scriptis ad R.P. Generalem Societatis Jesu.* Ges. 1257/30
30 ottobre 1716

(Tre copie dello stesso testo:
cc.328bis r-329r; cc.330r-331r; 332r-333r)

- 169) VINCENTE DE TARTRE, S.J. Ges. 1254/5
Sensa Patris Vincentii de Tartre circa libros veteres doctrinam que sinensium oblata R.P. Kiliano Stumpf S.J. Visitatori Sinarum et Japoniae. Die vigesima Septembris 1718. Pekini.
Pechino, 20 settembre 1718

(cc.41r-48r)

- 170) *Ad Rev.Pr.N. G.lis Censura libri in Sinis impressi cui Titulus: Informatio pro veritate contra iniquiorem famam sparsam per Sinas cum calumnia P.P. Soc.is Jesu, et detrimento Missionis, communicata Missionariis in Imperio Sinensi.* Ges. 1248/4
1717

(cc.388r-394v)

- 171) JEAN FRANÇOIS FOUCQUET, S.J. Ges. 1256/26
Specimen doctrinae P.Ioannis Francisci Fouquet circa libros sinicos

*excerptae ex eius literis scripsit ad
R.P. Generalem Societatis Jesu. Scripsit
P.Jo. Fr. Foucquet ad P. Generalem
30 octobris anno 1718 in hunc modum.
30 ottobre 1718*

(cc.278bis r-280r)

- 172) *Diarium ab Adventu Excell.mi D.ni
Caroli Ambrosij Patriarchae Alexan-
drini et Legati a latere in Aula
Pekinensi usq. ad eius discessu:
iussu imperatoris ab Europeis, qui
sunt in Aula, subscriptum et ipsi
Excell.mo Legato traditum.*
1720
- Ges. 1254/22

(cc.248r-255v)

- 173) NICOLA GIAMPRIANO, S.J. Ges. 1253/43
- Brevis narratiucola eorum quae circa
R.m D.M. Theodoricus Pedrini Missionarius
Sac. Congregationis de Propag.da Fide
Pekini acciderunt, Februario mense anno 1720.
Febbraio 1720*

(cc.351r-352v)

- 174) *Littera annua Collegij Ham Chen Fu
Metropolis Provinciae Chekiam et Residentiarum
ac Missionum subjectarum ab initio Septembris
anni 1719 ad finem augusti 1720.*
1720
- Ges. 1386/2

(cc.9r-10v)

- 175) [Breve relazione degli ultimi eventi del 1720] Ges. 1256/49
Pechino, 20 novembre 1720

(cc.404^{bis} r-405v)

- 176) *Laus posthuma R.P. Kiliani Stumpf Soc. Jesu* Ges. 1253/1
1720

(cc.1r-4v)

- 177) *Breve esposizione delle diverse determinazioni della S.ta Sede sopra i Riti Cinesi.* Ges. 1257/7
(post 1720)

(cc.45^{bis} r-53v)

- 178) *Lo stato presente de PP. della Compagnia de Gesù di Pekino ed il loro operato nella Legazione dell'Ill.mo e Rev.mo Mons.r Patriarca Mezzabarba.* Ges. 1383/26
(post 1720)

(cc.384r-409v)

- 179) *Esame di una scrittura che ha per titolo "De octo permissionibus" quas Exmus D. Carolus Mezzabarba Neophytis Sinensibus indulxit.* Ges. 1254/30
(post 1720)

(cc.297r-314v)

- 180) JULIEN PLACIDE HERVIEU, S.J. Ges. 1254/3

*Notae in discursum Patris Foucquet
exscriptum ex illius epistola die
16 Dec. anni 1721 data Cantone ad Patrem S.J.
1721*

(cc.19r-22v)

- 181) TEODORICO PEDRINI, S.J. Ges. 107/2

*Annotazioni sopra il giornale della
Legazione della Cina, scritto dal Pre
Viani servita.
(1721 circa)*

(cc.25r-60v)

- 182) [Relazione delle Missioni dei gesuiti
in Cina, Cocincina e Tonkino]
(post 1721) Ges. 1251/7

(cc.297r-345v)

- 183) *Dissertatione teologica e morale,
in cui si cerca se possa trattarsi
di modificare il Decreto della S.ta
Memoria di Clem. XI intorno ai Riti
Cinesi o sospenderne l'esecuzione.
(post 1721)* Ges. 1257/20

(cc.178bis r-186r)

- 184) *Alla Santità di N.Sig.re Papa Innocenzo XIII. Per il preposito Generale della Compagnia di Gesù sopra l'esecuzione de' Decreti ed Ordini della S. Sede spettanti alle Missioni della Cina. Posta in effetto dal medesimo generale e da' suoi Missionari.*
1722

Ges. 1251/2

(cc.70r-103r)

Sommario di diverse lettere e Documenti dall'anno 1706 sino al 1722 per giustificare la sollecita e sincera condotta del P.Generale della Compagnia di Gesù nell'ordinare, ed esiggere da' suoi Religiosi Missionari della Cina la dovuta esecuzione de' Decreti Apostolici e di altri Ordini della Santa Sede intorno quelle Missioni e per verificare l'operato da' medesimi Missionari per tal'esecuzione.
1722

(cc.104r-130r)

- 185) *Sommario di diverse Lett.re e Documenti dall'Anno 1706 sino al 1722. Per giustificare la sollecita e sincera condotta del P.Gen.le della Compagnia di Gesù nell'ordinare ed esiggere da suoi Religiosi Missionari della Cina la dovuta esecuzione de' Decreti Apostolici e di altri ordini della S. Sede intorno quelle Missioni, e per verificare l'operato da med.mi Missionari per tal'esecuzione.*
1722

Ges. 1308

(cc.1r-212r)

*Breve istruzione per chi deve informare i
Sig.i Cardinali nella causa della Cina.*
(post 1724)

(cc.214r-216v)

- 186) JOSEPH ANNE-MARIE MOYRIAC DE MAILLA, S.J. Ges. 1253/45

*Notizie intorno al P. Fouquet scritte
dal P. Mailla al P. Assistente di Francia.*
1722

(cc.269r-272r)

Varie notizie intorno al P. Fouquet.
1722

(cc.276r-288r)

- 187) FRANÇOIS-XAVIER D'ENTRECOLLES, S.J. Ges. 1254/43

*Extrait d'une relation de la Chine sur la
chretienté des Jesuites François de Pekin.
Ecrit par le P. François Xavier Dentrecolles
de la Comp.e de Jesus a Pekin.*
8 novembre 1722

(cc.462r-466v)

- 188) [Documento tratto dagli scritti
dei PP. Bouvet, Foucquet et al.] Ges. 1254/16
(post 1722)

(pp.89r-186v)

- 189) MICHELANGELO TAMBURINI, S.J. Ges. 1526/5
[Epistola sui Riti cinesi a destinatario
sconosciuto]
18 Settembre 1723
(c.110r)
- 190) *Notizie più recenti della Cina, Tunchino e
Cocincina, cavate dalle Lettere di Sett.e,
Ott.e e Nov.e del 1723. Scritte al P.
Generale della Compagnia di Gesù da suoi
Missionari.*
1723
(cc.339bis r-349v) Ges. 1256/38
- 191) [Annotazioni sugli avvenimenti di Pechino] Ges. 1256/17
1723
(cc.144bis r-150v)
- 192) *Alla Sacra Cong.ne deputata de Propaganda
Fide per li Missionari della Comp.a di Gesù
della Cina. Ristretto de' Documenti che
li Missionari della Comp.a di Gesù dimoran-
ti nella Cina, nel Tumkino e nella Cocincina
esibiscono alla Sac. Cong.ne di Prop.da
Fide, in prova della loro obbedienza al
Precetto Apostolico della Costituzione Ex
illa die ed agl'altri ordini intimati al
P. Genle della med.a Comp.a, in nome
d'Innocenzo XIII, di glor. mem.a da
Monsig.r Seg.rio della stessa Sac.Congre-
gazione. Alli 13 di sett.re l'anno 1723.*
1723
(cc.372r-386v) Ges. 1248/4

- 193) *Alla Sacra Cong.ne deputata de Propaganda Fide per li Missionari della Comp.a di Gesù della Cina.*
Ristretto de'nuovi documenti che li Missionari della Comp.a di Gesù dimoranti nella Cina, nel Tumkino e nella Cocincina esibiscono alla Sac.Cong.ne di Prop.da Fide in prova della loro ubbidienza al precetto Apostolico della Costituzione Ex illa die et agl'altri ordini intimati al P.Generale della med.a Compagnia, in nome d'Innocenzo XIII di glor. mem. da Mong.r Seg.rio della stessa Sac. Cong.ne alli 13 di settembre l'anno 1723.
 (post 1723)
 (cc.1r-14r)
- 194) [Notizie dalla Cina]
 (post 1723)
 (c.390^{bis} rv)
- 195) *Informazione in risposta sopra i nuovi ordini spettanti alla Cina intimati al P. Genle della Comp.a di Gesù sotto il 12 ottobre 1724.*
 1724
 (cc.102r-113v)
- 196) *Addizione sul Memoriale Apologetico del P.Generale della Comp.a di Gesù circa le cose della Cina.*
 (1724)
 (cc.313r-320v)
- Ges. 1316
- Ges. 1256/43
- Ges. 1316
- Ges. 1248/4

- 197) *Viglietto scritto da N.P. a Mons.Seg.o di Propaganda in risposta dell'ordine havuto di richiamare cinque Missionari dalla Cina e sopra a Libbri e Capitoli di Mons. Fouquet.*
(1724)

(cc.322r-330r)

Ges. 1248/4
- 198) *Addizione al Memoriale Apologetico del P.Generale della Comp.a di Gesù circa le cose della Cina.*
(post 1724)

(Due copie del medesimo testo:
cc.114r-120r; cc.122r-129r).

Ges. 1316
- 199) *Nuovi riscontri dalla Cina.*
(post 1724)

(cc.315r-318r)

Ges. 1254/31
- 200) [Minuta di una relazione del P. Generale dei gesuiti al Segretario di Propaganda Fide]
(post 1724)

(cc.181r-183r)

Ges. 1253/32
- 201) [Notizie dalla Cina]
(post 1724)

(cc.253bis r-264r)

Ges. 1256/24

- 202) *Breve compendio de' successi della Missione della Cina dall'Agosto sin al Xbre del 1724. Cavati da alcune lettere de' Missionari della Comp.a di Gesù.*
(post 1724)

Ges. 1482/26

(cc.259r-260v)

- 203) IGNATIUS KOEGLER, S.J.

Ges. 1386/1

[Due epistole e un biglietto inviati al P. Michele Angelo Tamburini P. Generale della Compagnia di Gesù]

23 ottobre 1725; cc.2r-3v

28 ottobre 1725; cc.4r-5v

31 ottobre 1725; c.6r

- 204) ROMAIN HINDERER, S.J.

Ges. 1254/32

Sincera et simplex relatio P.Romani Hindeer S.J. de sua, post plerosque missionarios expulsos, in sua Ecclesia perseverantia congressu cum Cum to et mappa geographica pro regi picta.
27 settembre 1725

Due copie del medesimo testo:
cc.319r-320v; cc.321r-322v.

- 205) JULIEN PLACIDE HERVIEU, S.J.

Ges. 1256/18

Narratio eorum quae Pekini continerunt occasione PP. Carmelitarum qui

*venerunt cum muneribus a S.Pont.fice
ad Sinensem Imperatorem destinatis.*

Canton, 22 dicembre 1725

Due copie del medesimo testo:
cc.155bis r-165v; cc.175r-186v.

*Continuatio narraois eorum quae Pekini
contingerunt occasione RR.PP. Carmelitarum
Roma missorum cum muneribus ac brevibus
Summi Pontificis.*

Canton, 25 Dicembre 1725

Due copie del medesimo testo:
cc.167r-168v; cc.187r-188v

*Supplementum narrationis eorum quae Pekini
contingerunt occasione duorum R. Patrum
Carmelitarum Roma missorum cum Brevibus
ac Muneribus Pontificijs.*

Canton, 8 Gennaio 1726

(cc.169r-174v)

- 206) [Descrizione degli avvenimenti del 28 luglio 1725, sottoscritta dai PP. Roca, Hervieu, Perroni, S.J.] Ges. 1256/45
1725

(Due copie del medesimo testo:
cc.395bis rv; c.396rv)

- 207) *Journal de ce qui s'est passè entre le
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	Ges.1256/12	no. 136
	Ges.1257/16	no. 158
	Ges.1298	no. 70
	Ges.1383/5	no. 151
	Ges.1386/19	no. 164
Malatra, Jean François, S.J. (1642-1720)	Ges.1250/2	no. 72
	Ges.1298	no. 70
Marino, Filippo	Ges.1393	no. 38
	Ges.1504/1	no. 34
Marron, Bartolomè, O.P. (1646-1717)	Ges.1249/6	no. 63
Mencius	Ges.1185	no. 3
Mezzabarba, Carlo Ambrogio (1685-1741)	Ges.1254/22	no. 172
	Ges.1254/30	no. 179
	Ges.1254/40	no. 229
	Ges.1383/26	no. 178
Miller, Balthasar, S.J. (1683-1741)	Ges.1256/41	no. 209

Monteiro, Josè, S.J. (1646-1720)	Ges.1254/37	no. 118
Morales, Diego de, S.J. (1597-1664)	Ges.1249/4 Ges.1256/30	no. 6 no. 96
Morales, Juan Bautista de, O.P. (1597-1664)	Ges.1251/3 Ges.1254/35	no. 5 no. 7
Moyriac de Mailla, Joseph	Ges.1247/7	no. 238
Marie Anne de, S.J. (1669-1748)	Ges.1252/11 Ges.1253/45 Ges.1254/46 Ges.1256/10	no. 207 no. 186 no. 130 no. 228
Muñoz, Pedro, O.P. (1659-1729)	Ges.1254/2	no. 92
Navarrete Fernandez, Domingo, v.: Fernandez Navarrete, Domingo		
Nicolai da Leonessa, Giovanni Francesco de, O.F.M. (1656-1737)	Ges.1246/3 Ges.1250/2 Ges.1254/41 Ges.1383/19	no. 93 no. 72 no. 62 no. 97
Noël, François, S.J. (1651-1729)	Ges.1256/35 Ges.1257/16 Ges.1257/36 Ges.1383/21	no. 122 no. 158 no. 31 no. 153
Oliva, Giovanni Paolo, S.J. (1616-1681)	Ges.1495	no. 44
Pallu, François, M.E.P. (1626-1684)	Ges.1495 Ges.1504/1	no. 41 no. 34

Panzi, Giuseppe, S.J. (1734-1812)	Ges.1228/20	no. 243
Paolo V, Papa (1552-1621)	Ges.1257/14	no. 33
Parrenin, Dominique, S.J. (1665-1741)	Ges.1247/7 Ges.1256/10	no. 238 no. 228
Paulucci, Fabrizio, Cardinale (1651-1726)	Ges.1386/19	no. 164
Pedrini, Teodorico, C.M. (1670-1746)	Ges.107/2 Ges.1253/35 Ges.1253/43	no. 181 no. 166 no. 173
Pereyra, Thomas, S.J. (1689-1743)	Ges.1256/10	no. 228
Perroni, Domenico, C.R.M.D. (1674-1729)	Ges.1256/45	no. 206
Poirot, Louis Antoine de, S.J. (1735-1813)	Ges.1386/18	no. 242
Prémare, Joseph Henri Marie de, S.J. (1666-1736)	Ges.540/14 Ges.1254/34 Ges.1254/38 Ges.1257/37	no. 233 no. 239 no. 240 no. 237
Provana, Antonio Francesco, S.J.	Ges.1184	no. 160
Roca, Miguel, S.J. (1661-1757)	Ges.1256/45	no. 206
Rosalia, Vescovo di, v.: Lionne, Artus de		
Rossi, Sacerdote	Ges.1228/20	no. 243
Rougemont, François de, S.J. (1624-1676)	Ges.1257/29	no. 18

Rubino, Antonio, S.J. (1578-1643)	Ges.1249/4 Ges.1251/3	no. 6 no. 5
Ruggieri, Michele, S.J. (1543-1606)	Ges.1276	no. 2
Saccano, Metello, S.J. (1612-1662)	Ges.1254/19	no. 12
Sacripante, Giuseppe (1642-1727)	Ges.1386/30	no. 139
Saint Martin, Jean Didier de, M.E.P. (1743-1801)	Ges.106/13 Ges.198/9 Ges.198/11	no. 247 no. 244 no. 246
Schall von Bell, Johann Adam, S.J. (1592-1666)	Ges.1254/27 Ges.1305	no. 115 no. 9,10
Silva, Antonio da, S.J. (1654-1726)	Ges.1383/5	no. 151
Solari, Sacerdote	Ges.1228/20	no. 243
Soarez, Josè, S.J. (1656-1736)	Ges.1254/41	no. 62
Sperelli, Sperello (1639-1710)	*Ges.1250/2	no. 72
Stumpf, Kilian, S.J. (1655-1720)	Ges.1252/2 Ges.1254/5 Ges.1254/6 Ges.1254/17 Ges.1253/1	no. 140 no. 169 no. 167 no. 156 no. 176
Tamburini, Michelangelo, S.J. (1648-1730)	Ges.1256/48 Ges.1386/1 Ges.1526/5	no. 214 no. 203 no. 189

Tartre, Pierre Vincent de, S.J. (1669-1724)	Ges.1254/5	no. 169
Thomas, Antoine, S.J. (1645-1708)	Ges.1246/4	no. 141
	Ges.1247/1	no. 137
	Ges.1251/4	no. 108
	Ges.1254/9	no. 69
	Ges.1254/10	no. 121
	Ges.1254/29	no. 117
	Ges.1257/6	no. 113
	Ges.1383/18	no. 64
	Ges.1386/19	no. 164
	Ges.1386/30	no. 139
	Ges.1526/8	no. 144
Trigault, Nicolas, S.J. (1602-1667)	Ges.1305	no. 11
Turcotti, Carlo, S.J. (1643-1706)	Ges.1254/29	no. 117
	Ges.1254/37	no. 118
Van Hamme, Pieter, S.J. (1651-1727)	Ges.1386/19	no. 164
Verbiest, Ferdinand, S.J. (1623-1688)	Ges.1254/27	no. 115
	Ges.1257/33	no. 27
	Ges.1383/23	no. 28
Viani, Sostegno, O.S.M.	Ges.107/2	no. 181
	Ges.1254/40	no. 229
Visdelou, Claude de, S.J. (1656-1737)	Ges.1254/37	no. 118

TWO PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN PREFACES OF RICCI'S
JIAOYOU LUN AND MARTINI'S QIUYOU PIAN BY LIU
NING AND SHEN GUANGYU *

Giuliano Bertuccioli

I published the first translation in a western language of Martino Martini's *Qiuyou pian* (Treatise on Searching for Friendship) on the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (LXVI, 1992, pp. 79-120 and 331-379), basing myself on the 1661 edition and, in particular, on the copy belonging to the Vatican Library (*Racc. Gen. Or.*, III, 223), preceded by four prefaces, written by Zhang Anmao, Xu Erjue, Zhu Shi and Martini himself respectively.

As my contribution to the Proceedings of this Conference, I should like to provide my translation of another two previously unknown prefaces not contained in the 1661 edition, but included in the collection of Chinese Christian manuscripts entitled *Tianxue jijie*,¹ preserved in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg since 1827 (no. 829/I).

The Sinologisch Instituut of the University of Leiden, which possesses the microfilm of the whole collection, kindly provided me with a photocopy of the text of the two prefaces. As two pages of the text of the second preface (11b-13a) had not been clearly microfilmed, I have obtained a better photocopy of them from the National Library of Russia. I avail myself of this opportunity to express my thanks to Prof. E. Zürcher and Dr. A. Dudink of the Sinologisch Instituut and to the Director of the

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¹ M. Dorn & M. Rost, eds., *Catalogue des Manuscrits et Xylographies Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Petersburg*, St. Petersburg 1879 (repr. Leipzig, 1978), p. 616; A. Dudink, *The rediscovery of a Seventeenth Century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: the Manuscript Tianxue jijie in Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, XV, 1993, 1-26; *Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts and Wood Blocks editions in the National Library of Russia* (in Russian), S. Petersburg, 1993, p. 126, N. 217.

National Library of Russia for their assistance.

The authors of the two prefaces are:

1) Shen Guangyu, *zi* Zhonglian, native of Daxing near Peking, who was *jinshi* of 1640 and registered as a student of the Imperial Body Guard.²

2) Liu Ning (ca 1625 - ca 1715), native of Nanfeng in the Jianchang prefecture of Jiangxi. Liu Ning, a Christian convert and friend of the French Jesuit H. Prémare, probably edited the *Tianxue jijie*.³

* * *

Shen Guangyu, *Qiuyou pian xu*

[Preface to the Treatise on (Searching for) Friendship]

Friendship is what is conferred upon us by God and therefore is one of the five relationships.⁴

The five relationships mutually complete and interpenetrate each other, but friendship does so more completely and in greater depth. So indispensable is friendship to the others and such is the value of its example that we can never express it in words, never finish reading it in writing, never conceive it with our mind.

If we were to examine the relationships of sovereign and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother one by one, we would soon discover that friendship is superior to all, as its Way is incommensurably great and singularly splendid.

Those scholars, unfortunately ill-acquainted with the rules of friendship, notwithstanding their daily intercourse with others, can be compared to people who sail the seas the whole day long, but notice only one wave, or who look upon chessmen the whole day through, but lose sight of the whole chessboard.

² Zhu Baojiong, Xie Peilin, *Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin*, Shanghai 1980, vol. 2, p. 1144, vol. 3, p. 2617; Dudink, p. 10.

³ K. Lundbaek, *Joseph de Prémare (1666-1736) S.J.: Chinese philology and Figurism in Acta Jutlandica LXVI: 2 Humanities Series* 65, 1991, pp. 141-144 and passim; id., "Liu Ning. A Chinese Christian author of the 17th-18th century", *Sino Western Cultural Relations Journal* XIII, 1991, pp. 1-3; Dudink, pp. 10, 17-19.

⁴ *Wu lun*: between prince and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brother, and friends.

They are simply confused and mixed up in their minds. If instead they could understand that from just one wave we can estimate the conditions of the sea or from just one move the outcome of a whole chessgame may be decided, if they could pay steady, thoughtful attention to this, who would dare to treat them with disrespect? As this is how friends are searched for, the Way of Friendship is fortunate indeed! When Mister Wei from the Western Ocean⁵ arrived after having sailed the sea, he did not reveal these uneasy thoughts he sadly harboured, although he wished to do so, until he had visited the provinces of Guangdong, Jiangsu, Hubei, Fujian and Zhejiang. Only then did he muster up courage and composed with a sigh the Treatise on (Searching) for Friendship. He desired to illustrate these ideas in our land, knowing that the Way of Friendship had long been neglected here. Not because in our land there are no friends, but because the Way of Friendship is not understood. ⁶ And those who do understand it, they cannot put it into practice. Therefore everywhere in the Empire charity is not sincere and faith is not firm. ⁷

The Confucians have the following sayings:

"In his intercourse with his friends, he keeps his word"⁸
and also:

"To set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me, to this I have not attained".⁹

Words and behaviour are essential components of friendship. If the Confucians find this difficult to express, it is not because to speak and to behave is difficult, but because it is difficult to estimate the conditions of the sea from only one wave or to decide a whole chessgame on the basis of one move.

Now this gentleman ¹⁰ has reached the age in which he no

⁵ Martino Martini.

⁶ Li Zhi (1527-1602) in his *Pengyou pian* (Treatise on friends) makes an almost similar complaint: "In the world since long there are no friends. Why? Because everybody is fond of making gain and is not fond of duty" (*Lishi fenshu*, Shanghai, 1936, p. 256; *Fenshu*, Peking, 1961, p. 224).

⁷ Faith (*xin*), hope (*wan*) and charity (*ai*) are the three Theological Virtues.

⁸ *Lunyu*, I, VII.

⁹ *Zhongyong*, 13, IV (tr. J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. I, Hongkong, 1960, p. 394).

¹⁰ Martino Martini.

longer suffers from doubt. ¹¹ He is farsighted and has a thorough understanding of abstruse things, an exhaustive knowledge of local and foreign science and a perspicacious mind, which perceives the will of divine and human beings. Furthermore, as he dislikes to behave selfishly and wishes to be friend with all, how could he ever tolerate people who behave selfishly and fail to make friends?

Although difficult circumstances forced me to live far from home, I was fortunate in that I could enjoy his company frequently. During one of his sermons, he showed me his Treatise, probably because he knew that I would not dare to treat his work with disrespect. I admired his physical appearance, which seemed so refined and elegant, so great compared to his body. I saw how diligent and kind he was, how determined in expounding the doctrine and how he considered the propagation of faith as his mission. When he was at rest, he would assume a friendly expression and whistle or holding a cup in his hand he would look around, facing everybody with his serious and noble face. As he answered questions one by one, his voice was like wind blowing forth from a deserted valley, his eyes brighter than a mirror, his mind more fervid than fire. As for his Treatise, it was always a pleasure when all of a sudden he quoted something from it, inducing people to appreciate, each from a different point of view, its style, which is magnificent, as well as every single sentence. But where does all this compassionate feeling come from? Being involved in our daily humdrum life, taking care of our parents or serving our lord, very often we neglect our brothers, our wife and our children, with whom we spend only a limited period of time. Only the company of friends remains to us and if these too we neglect and do not care, certainly even God will be displeased. But if we take this Treatise and read it, we may be induced to laugh at ourselves coldly for longing too ardently for fame and wealth. Or if we meditate upon it for a while at the end of the night, when the cock crows and a storm blows just before dawn, we may feel ourselves running with sweat and weep silent and bitter tears. Does this not mean that it is like a

¹¹ This is a quotation from *Lunyu*, I, II and signifies that Martini, born in 1614, was already over forty. In fact he died in 1661, when he was 47 years old.

wonderful, unique medicine, good for all seasons? Is this not its effectiveness?

Mister Li¹² has the following saying:

"A friend is my half".¹³

It is evident that he will expect me to behave correctly with him if he is my second half. To behave falsely and, notwithstanding this, to expect a friend to remain loyal to me, is impossible: no friend could ever consent to do so and whatever a friend cannot consent, God himself will not consent.

Considering that Faith and Charity are two words repeated most frequently in the Treatise; that Faith and Charity are linked together by Hope and that man serves God with Faith, Hope and Charity, what need is there to speak so insistently about friendship?

Because it is Friendship which is conferred (on us) by God.
(*Tianxue jijie*, no 162, 4b-6b)

* * *

Liu Ning, *Jiao (you lun) Qiu (you pian) helu xu*
(Preface to the Essay on (Making) Friendship and to the
Treatise on (Searching for) Friendship copied together).

I have copied together and given the place of honour on my desk to the "Essay on (making) Friendship", written by Mister Li Xitai¹⁴ and the "Treatise on (Searching for) Friendship", written by Mister Wei Jitai,¹⁵ so that I can read them aloud.

These two gentlemen, who have abandoned their country and left their relatives in search of friends ninety thousand miles from home, can be said to be sincere and trustworthy. All

¹² Matteo Ricci.

¹³ Horace, *Carmina*, I, 3: "Et serves animae dimidium meae"; St. Augustinus, *Confessionum*, IV, 6: "Bene quidam dixit de amico suo: Dimidium animae meae". Ricci's *Jiaoyou lun* begins with this quotation: "Wu you fei ta ji wo zhi ban" (*Glossary A*).

¹⁴ Matteo Ricci.

¹⁵ Martino Martini.

the books they have written and the theories they have set up are the expression of their mind and will surprise and impress the reader, who can appreciate and meditate over them. In fact friendship is not only social intercourse, but complete personal involvement, the discussion of questions of vital importance with somebody equally involved, so that we may penetrate the innermost recesses of his mind without he having anything to explain.

As for the expression "Making Friendship" see the passage of the *Zhongyong*.¹⁶

As for the sentence "Searching for friendship" see the decade *Famu*.¹⁷

The making of friends is decided by Heaven.

The search for friends is decided by man.

What is decided by Heaven, man cannot undo. If that were possible, one of the five relationships would be lost.

What is decided by man may often displease Heaven, when the selection of friends has been made without discernment.

If the four relationships do not find rapid completion they will not find their right place in the future.

This is why friendship is so important.

With our feeble strength and limited intelligence, how will we ever find a good companion and establish with him a sincere friendship? Let us now consider where friends come from. They are in fact bestowed by God in order to teach and to assist us. Knowing that man, when alone, cannot deploy his energies nor perform meritorious deeds, God provides him with somebody who has much energy and much merit. Whoever wishes to conform to God's intention and does not know how to search for friends has only to turn back and ask God for them.

Why?

In order to know men, it is necessary to know (the will of) Heaven and, as the knowledge of Heaven is the basis for knowing men, a sincere search for friends may put us in touch with the Divine intelligence. In fact whoever searches for friends should comply with the will of Heaven, because Heaven

¹⁶ *Zhongyong*, 20, VIII.

¹⁷ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 9, I.

has never favoured unions without first manifesting its intentions. It is therefore the fault of men if they do not make or search for friends, because Heaven is not opposed to it. Why then should men be?

As I appreciate the sayings of the two gentlemen I felt bound to put them together and copy them.

Mister Gong Zixuan¹⁸ has carefully read and punctuated the "Essay on (Making) Friendship", making it widely known and doing no less than what Guo has done for Zhuangzi¹⁹ and Xiaobiao for Yiqing.²⁰ I have therefore discovered the many merits of (the book of) Mister Li²¹ and for this reason I have copied it together with the other.

I have heard that the first act of my (maternal) uncle Mister Tang Laihe²², as administrator²³ of Guangling²⁴, was to return the call of Mister Gong. Mister Gong, after successfully passing

¹⁸ Gong Weiliu, *zi* Ziyang and Zixuan, was born in Jinghai in the province of Jiangsu, of a family originally from Taizhou in the Yangzhou prefecture. His date of birth may be established on the basis of what he writes in his work in 7 *juan*, *Tingwenzhou shishuo*, *juan* 4, f. 6a: "I remember that in the year *xinyou* (1621) I was eleven years old" (*Glossary* C). He was therefore born in 1610. He was a *juren* in the year *renwu* (1642) (See Gong, *juan* 4, f. 10b: "In the autumn of the year *renwu* I was a *juren* at the *xiang* examination") (*Glossary* D) and a *jinsshi* in the following year *guiwei* (1643) (See Zhu Baojiong, Xie Peiling, vol. 3, p. 2622). He had an appointment at the Hanlin Academy and was author of various works, two of which were published, together with the one mentioned above, in 1920 and 1921 in the *Hailing congke*. Biographical information may be read in *Siku quanshu zongmu* (Peking, 1965, 1992) *juan* 143, p. 1225; Huang Yuji, *Qianqing tang shumu* (Shanghai, 1990) *juan* 28, p. 678; Zhu Yizun, *Mingci cong, Sibei beiyao* (Shanghai, 1927-35) *juan* 7, p. 2b, where his *zi* is given as Ziyuan.

¹⁹ Guo Xiang, d. 312, is the author of a commentary to the work of Zhuangzi.

²⁰ Liu Jun, *zi* Xiaobiao (462-521), wrote a commentary to Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu*.

²¹ Matteo Ricci.

²² Tang Laihe, *zi* Zuoping and Nianping, *hao* Tian, was a native of Nanfeng, Jiangxi, and a *jinsshi* of 1640. He was nominated *Ancha si qianshi* (Assistant Surveillance Commissioner) in the province of Guangdong, but at the fall of the Ming dynasty he retired from official life. He is the author of various writings collected under the title *Neixingzhai wenji*, 32 *juan*, published in 1680. Biographical information may be found in *Siku quanshu zongmu*, *juan* 181, p. 1633. He was the maternal uncle of Liu Ning.

²³ *Sili* (C.O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, 1985, no. 5693).

²⁴ Yangzhou.

the examinations of the years *renwu* (1642) and *guiwei* (1643),²⁵ was at that time at home as a tribute student.²⁶ According to the old regulations, an administrator did not return the call of a tribute student, yet Tang returned the call even though Mr. Gong had not even entered the first two lists.²⁷ My maternal uncle said: "Mister Gong, why should we adhere so closely to the rules?"²⁸

Up to now I have considered this merely to be an interesting anecdote. Only Mister Gong had been able to read the "Essay on (Making) Friendship" and only my maternal uncle was able to befriend Mister Gong. I record this at the end, in order to inform those who nowadays are making friends.

The eleventh month of the year *dingsi* (1677), Liu Ning of Nanfeng composed at his residence in Chang'an.

(*Tianxue jijie*, no. 167, 6. 12a-13b)

²⁵ *Feilian* is probably an abridged form of *Gaoferi lianjie*, an expression which alluded to those who successfully passed the *juren* examination, and the *jinshi* examination in the immediately following year. See note 18.

²⁶ *Mingjing* (Hucker, no. 4007).

²⁷ Gong Weiliu's name is the 69th of the third list of successful candidates for the 1643 *jinshi* examination (Zhu Baojiong, Xie Peilin, vol. 3, p. 2622).

²⁸ A more literal translation is: "Mister Gong, how could we adhere so closely to the rules?"

Glossary

- A: 夫天下無朋久矣。何也。
舉世皆嗜利。無嗜義者。 (See note 6)
- B: 吾友非他即我之半。 (See note 13)
- C: 憶辛酉余年十一。 (See note 18)
- D: 壬午秋予與同舉於鄉。 (See note 18)

。速友篇序

沈先格

。後。著。上。主。之。所。為。界。也。故。五。倫。居。一。焉。五。倫。者。環。
相。色。互。相。貫。而。友。之。所。色。獨。周。其。所。貫。疏。更。徹。當。其。
相。需。之。殷。相。喻。之。篤。口。不。得。語。書。不。及。讀。鬼。不。及。謀。
君。臣。父。子。夫。婦。兄。弟。默。然。還。聽。之。時。而。友。義。逾。著。交。
道。洋。一。為。大。耿。一。為。獨。明。且。亟。矣。士。患。義。理。不。精。世。
故。日。涉。譬。終。涉。海。而。徒。見。一。瀾。終。日。對。棋。而。不。見。全。
局。茫。一。恍。一。而。已。若。知。一。瀾。之。具。有。全。海。全。局。即。繫。
乎。示。子。之。一。著。說。心。研。慮。即。誰。敢。輕。漫。其。事。故。如。是。

以求友。而友道幸甚。西洋衛先生航海而來。忼然北
此素懷。欲說不說。既曆百粵。吳楚閩浙以還。慨然而
嘆。聞為遠友篇。欲明此意于吾土。抑知吾土。棄此
道久矣。夫非吾土無友。而友道不明。其有明者。又不
能必行。于是愛不真。信不固。悠々者天下皆是也。孔
門之言曰。與朋友交。言而有信。又曰。求于友者。先施
之未能。夫言與施。友中之一節耳。而孔門難言之。非
言與施之難。而以一瀾見全海。以全局下一子之難
也。今先生以不惑之幸。攬遠洞徹徹。為學窮內外之

除析埋得天人之愾。尤不忍私其身而欲與人為友。其有聽人私其身而不為友乎。不禁以患難流寓。得數從先生游息。講課有閒。肯示此篇。或亦知不孝之不敢輕漫其事也。嘗見先生形法表。修葺度越恒人。而精神又大于其身。又見其勤敬。壹志辨道。以行教為己任。夔閒時。掀髯長嘯。或引觴顧盼。古色蔭映。我輩隨人叩答。若颺颺之出空谷。而又眼明手鑒。心熱于大。即其篇中。隨手拈說。翻覆流連。任人見深見淺。不律總作龍形。單辭莫非鱗鬣。何處得此一片頻。

婆悲問來吾人日經世味中。養親事君既多。非方兄弟妻子。俞合有限。只賸朋友一路。而又聽其孤行。莫之理會。宜亦帝者之所惱恫也。但手是篇。于爭名圖利。洪爐熾炭時。讀之可以冷然失笑。或于鷄鳴夜旦。晦明風雨。中思量一過。亦可以沈然浹汗。殷然涕血也。謂非世間一大溫涼妙劑乎。抑有進焉。利先生之言曰。友者我之半。明乎雖第二。我必以我為正矣。如我偽不盡。而望友之真。友斯不許。非友不許。主不許也。觀篇中三致意者。唯信愛二言。信之與愛。融結為

一。望。在。其。中。矣。夫。信。望。愛。人。之。所。以。事。主。而。斥。小。人。也。
 有。子。友。而。言。之。何。曰。友。者。因。上。主。所。為。異。也。

交逌合錄序

交逌合錄者、利西泰先生所著交友論、衛濟泰先生所著逌友篇、合而錄之、置諸座右、以備朝夕諷誦者也、二先生棄家國、離親戚、求友九萬里外、可謂摯且切矣、著書立說、皆由中之談、能令讀者愜然而驚、畢

Chinese text of Liu Ning, *Jiao (you lun) Qiu (you pian) helu xu* or "Preface to the Essay on Making Friendship and to the Treatise on Searching for Friendship copied together" (*Tianxue jijie*, 167, 6.12a-13b).

然而思、蓋友匪交游之事、乃性命之事、以性命之人、道性命之語、所以入人深、而人勿有數也、交之名、見中庸之篇、述之說、見伐木之什、交者、自天而定者也、求者、自人而定者也、定于天者、非人所得而離、使可離焉、五倫缺其一矣、定于人者、非其擇友之識、鮮不以人而戕天、非惟無以勸四倫之成、將四倫俱不得其所、此友誼所以重也、但吾人力弱而智劣、何以得良朋而契金蘭乎、毋亦思友所自而來、乃上帝所賜、以啟我輔我、知人不能獨為力、獨為功、予之以多

力多功者也、欲副上帝之意、而不知所以求友亦
 反而求之、上帝而已矣、何者、知人不可以不知天、
 知天為知人之原本、而求友之誠、即可通于神聽、然
 則人之求友、奉天命以行、未有不天啟其聰、天作其合
 者、人特患不交不求耳、苟交且求之、天且不違、而况
 于人乎、吾所以佩服二先生之言、不得不合而錄之
 也、宮紫玄先生、點閱交友論、而廣之、不減向郭之于
 漆園、孝標之于義慶、所以發明利先生者甚善、因并
 錄焉、嘗聞家渭陽湯惕菴先生、司理廣陵下車、先答

拜宮先生。宮先生以午未蜚聯時以明經家居。舊例
 詞理不答拜明經。即答拜亦不先兩榻。舅氏與宮先生
 生可以例拘乎。至今以為美談。惟宮先生能讀詩。論
 惟舅氏能友宮先生。並識于末。以告今之交遊者。
 行已長至。南豐劉凝識于長安邸舍。

THE INVENTORIES OF THE JESUIT HOUSE
AT NANKING
MADE UP DURING THE PERSECUTION OF 1616-1617
(SHEN QUE, *Nangong shudu*, 1620) *

Adrian Dudink

1. *Introduction*

(*The Nangong shudu and the Poxie ji*)

The Nanking anti-Christian persecution, initiated by Shen Que (1565-1624) in 1616, is a well known subject and as such not the topic of this article.¹ In addition to contemporary western reports, the main source of Chinese information used in previous studies of this persecution was the *Poxie ji* (8 *juan*), published by Xu Changzhi (1582-1672) in 1640. Xu took the fourteen documents dealing with the persecution (*PXJ* 1.5a-34b and 2.1a-29b) from the *Nangong shudu* (1620), a collection of

* List of abbreviations:

- BT: *Beijing tushuguan guji shanben shumu*, 5 vols., Peking, 1987 etc.
DMB: L.C. Goodrich and Fang Chao-ying eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (1368-1644), New York & London, 1976.
Dunne: G.H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants. The Story of the Jesuits in China in the last Decades of the Ming Dynasty*, Notre Dame (Indiana), 1962.
ECCP: A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington, 1943.
FR: P.M. d'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, 3 vols., Rome, 1942-1949.
Kelly: E. Kelly, *The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617 in Nanking* (thesis, Columbia University, 1971).
MS: *Mingshi*, Peking, 1974.
NB: *Naikaku bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku*, Tokyo, 1965.
NCL: (National Central Library) *Guoli Zhongyang tushuguan shanben shumu*, zengding ben, Taipei, 1967.
NGSD: Shen Que, *Nangong shudu* (1620).
PXJ: Xu Changzhi (ed.), *Poxie ji* (1640; reprint Japan, 1856).
QQ: Huang Yuji, *Qianqing tang shumu*, Shanghai, 1990.
SKQSZM: *Siku quanshu zongmu* (Peking, 1965; reprint 1987).
YWZ: *Mingshi yiwen zhi, bubian, fubian*, Shanghai, 1959.
Wang 1983: Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanben shu tiyao*, Shanghai, 1893.

¹ For a detailed treatment of the subject, see E. Kelly's unpublished thesis *The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617 in Nanking*, Columbia University, 1971.

memorials and other documents, issued by Shen Que and his Ministry during the time that he was Right Vice Minister (and acting Minister) of the Board of Rites (Nangong) in Nanking. The *Nangong shudu*² consists of four *juan* (in all 211 folios). The first two *juan* contain Shen's memorials, in all twenty-five (period 1615 VII - 1619 IV), and the last two *juan* twenty-two documents such as dispatches and reports from his Ministry. Four memorials and twelve documents - nine of these documents cover the entire third *juan* - deal with the persecution, some 44% (92 folios) of the entire collection.

Comparison of the *Poxie ji* with the *Nangong shudu* shows that Xu Changzhi abridged one document (NGSD 3.25b-35b: 25b-28a = PXJ 2.25a-26b) and omitted two documents (NGSD 3.35b-45a and 45b-46a). These three documents deal with the procedures to follow regarding the house of the expelled missionaries and the furniture, books etc. found in it. They include two inventories, about which I will speak later in more detail. By not reproducing this material Xu omitted some seventeen folios. That he did not reproduce the inventories is quite understandable, because it would hardly have served his aims - the refutation of Christianity. In the same vein, and also hardly detrimental, he made some slight abridgements in a few of the other documents. He omitted the concluding formula of the four memorials, in which formula the beginning of the memorial is repeated, followed by the signature of the clerk in Shen's office. As for the dispatch to the Nanking Censorate (PXJ 1.21b-27b), he omitted the appendix (1617, third month), which gives the names of the officers and soldiers who escorted Vagnone and Semedo to Guangdong.

In addition to this intentional omitting of materials, it also appears that texts in the *Poxie ji* were not always copied very accurately. Comparison with the *Nangong shudu* reveals a few cases of haplography.³ A most peculiar example of inaccuracy

² Consulted by way of a photocopy from a copy preserved in the *Sonseiaku Bunko* (Tokyo). The photocopy was acquired by Dr. B. Ter Haar after the publication of his *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, Leiden, 1992. It was already known that Shen Que took action not only against Christianity, but also other teachings regarded as heterodox (p. 223). I wish to thank Dr. Ter Haar for having loaned me his photocopy.

³ In the dispatch to the Nanking Censorate three passages (in all 213 characters) were omitted through haplography. Another example is found in the

forms the last document, "The case concerning the cost of restoring the shrine of Lord Huang" (NGSD 4.3b5-5a4), which deals with the proposal to use the building materials of the dismantled Jesuit house for the restoration of that shrine. In the *Poxie ji* this text consists of only 9 columns. After having copied the beginning of the document, which are the last 5 columns of folio 3 (PXJ 2.29a3-6 = NGSD 4.3b5-9), the copyist continued with the first 5 columns of folio 21 (PXJ 2.29a7-29b1), which are the last columns of a document that does not deal at all with the persecution. In this way the remaining part (NGSD 3.4a1-5a4) was omitted.⁴

Summarising, some twenty of the ninety-two folios in the *Nangong shudu* which deal with the persecution were omitted in the *Poxie ji*. The greatest part (some eighteen folios) was omitted intentionally: the inventories and the appendix with the names of officers and soldiers. The passages omitted through the inaccuracy of a copyist cover some two folios. Although the absence of this material might be regretted, one cannot conclude that it has been really detrimental for our knowledge about the persecution.

Another document, not mentioned so far, which Xu did not reproduce, is the text inscribed on a stele, dated the twelfth month of Wanli 45 (28 XII 1617 - 25 I 1618) for the restored shrine of Huang Guan (1364-1402), a martyr of the Jianwen period (see below). This shrine was restored with the building materials of the Jesuit house. The inscription was signed by eight persons: Shen Que and seven other officials of his Ministry, four of whom had been among the judges during the trials of the missionaries and the arrested Chinese. The inscription hardly deals with the persecution itself and therefore it is understandable, once again, that Xu did not

report on the trial of the missionaries. Semedo stated (the sentence omitted in the *Poxie ji* underlined) that "he first arrived in Guangdong, stayed in Macao for about three years and then went to Nanking, where he lived with Vagnone for three years and six months" (NGSD 3.15b5-6; PXJ 1.21a1-2).

⁴ Giving, among others, the information that on October 17th 1617, the land of the house was sold to Li Cheng for 100 tael, instead of the proposed 150 tael (cf. Kelly 105; G. Dunne, *Generations of Giants*, Notre Dame, 1962, p. 145). The inaccuracy also resulted in a wrong date for the "document" (PXJ 2.29): the first month of 1618, instead of the ninth month of 1617.

reproduce it. Nevertheless, the text is quite instructive for understanding the causes of the persecution and the aims which Shen Que had in mind. He writes that each time he visited the shrine of Lord Huang he regretted that the area did not have pavilions and kiosks. As an official in the Ministry of Rites his task should be “to honour the loyal and to make known the right path,” and therefore the place should be made more illustrious. The opportunity to do so presented itself

when cunning barbarians, taking along a heterodox teaching, illegally settled themselves within the city walls. When I had a look at their dwelling place I noticed that the royal ether (*qi*) of the Xiaoling (tombs) tortuously comes from the Southwest. So the Hongwu hillock is the crossing point of the Mount Zhong and the Stone Fortress, and this kind of people, who smell like sheep and goats, were spying there. I had them interrogated and requested the Court for an edict to arrest them and banish them beyond the ocean. Thereupon the various officials of the Ministry said: “It also is the task of the officials of the Ministry of Rites ‘to burn their books and convert their temples into homes.’”⁵

Thereupon they proposed to use the building materials of the house for restoring the shrine of Lord Huang and Shen Que agreed with it. In less than three months the work of the restoration of the shrine was completed (NGSD 4.5b-6a).⁶

According to western reports, the culmination of the persecution, after the missionaries had already been deported to Canton and their Chinese collaborators been sentenced (in August 1617), was the festive burning, in front of Shen's office, of the images and statues of the Lord of Heaven, all the western and Chinese books about Christianity (mentioned in the second inventory, see below). This burning was concluded by an official proclamation of Shen's Ministry forbidding anyone to follow the Christian teaching.⁷ Without any doubt such a burning

⁵ Quotation of the concluding part of the *Yuan dao* (The Origin of Way), composed by Han Yu (768-824) in order to refute Buddhism and Taoism.

⁶ The ceremonial announcement of the completion of the work was held at the shrine on January 7th 1618, while the decision to restore the shrine was taken during the ninth month (NGSD 4.5a, 6b).

did take place, as it had been officially decreed, and also the above quoted passage of the inscription testifies to it. But the inscription also shows that actually the restoration of the shrine of Lord Huang⁸ was the culmination of the entire affair. It was an act full of symbolism and not merely the administrative conclusion of the persecution, as the incomplete documents in the *Poxie ji* might suggest. Huang Guan, a *jinsshi* of 1391, had become Right Vice Minister of Rites and in early 1402 Right Secondary Minister of Rites. After the Prince of Yan had taken the capital Nanking in July 1402 and instituted himself as the Yongle emperor (1402-1424), he issued a list of supporters of the Jianwen emperor (1398-1402), on which list Huang Guan was mentioned as the sixth. Remaining loyal to his emperor, Huang drowned himself in a river near Nanking. Although soon afterwards a shrine was erected for him at that spot by local people, the more official cult only started towards the end of the sixteenth century by Shen Que's teacher, Zhao Yongxian (1535-1596), when he was Right Vice Minister of the Nanking Ministry of Rites (1588-1591). The exoneration of the martyrs of the Jianwen period - for a long time designated as Hongwu 32-35 and only restored to Jianwen 1-4 in 1595 (October) - had proceeded slowly. During the early years of his reign the Wanli emperor ordered a pardon for the descendants of exiled members of families of the Jianwen martyrs and also ordered the erection of a shrine in Nanking for the Jianwen martyrs, called "the shrine in honour of the loyal" (Biaozhong ci).⁹ Shen Que extolled the loyalty of the Jianwen martyrs in order to underline the disloyalty of the missionaries towards China and its government.

⁷ See the *Annual Letter* of 1617, p. 238, in: *Lettere Annue del Giappone, China et Ethiopia, Scritte al M.R.P. Generale Della Compagnia di Giesù, Da Padri dell'istessa Compagnia ne gli anni 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619*, Napoli, 1621, pp. 173-254. The proclamation (PXJ 2.21-24a), however, was not issued during the 8th month of 1617 (Dunne, p. 145), but the 8th month of 1616, several months before the missionaries were deported to Canton (April 30th 1617).

⁸ Because the documents (except for the inscription) only speak of Lord Huang (*Huang gong*), it was not possible hitherto to identify him (cf. Kelly 105).

⁹ See text of inscription. Cf. *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, The Ming Dynasty, 1368- 1644, Part I; ed. by F. Mote & D. Twitchett; Cambridge, 1988, pp. 202-205 (The Chien-wen emperor's legacy), and the biographies of Fang Xiaoru (1357-1402) and of the Jianwen emperor (Zhu Yunwen), *DMB*, pp. 397-404 and 426-433.

In his preface to the *Poxie ji* (dated December 28th 1639) Xu writes that the abbot Yuanwu (1566-1642), whom he visited in the summer of 1639, ordered him to compile a collection from the anti-Christian writings which Yuanwu had on his desk. Accordingly Xu “classified the materials, arranged the sections, omitted the complicated and retained the simple, removed the meat and kept the marrow” (preface, ff. 3b-4a). We have just seen that Xu Changzhi for understandable reasons omitted some documents, such as the inventories. That some passages in the reproduced documents were omitted (see above) must be due to the inaccuracy of a copyist. However, Xu Changzhi also omitted a few other passages, in which Buddhism is criticised. In his preface to the *Poxie ji* he claims that the texts in this collection refute Christianity, because it “disparaged Buddhism, injured Taoism and, moreover, attacked Confucianism while adducing it as an authority” (f. 2b). So he presents the *Poxie ji* as an account of the united counter-attack by Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism (notice the order). This account, however, might well be a construction of the editor. This is not to say that there are no refutations of Christianity in the *Poxie ji* which defend the unity of the Three Teachings, because the majority of the refutations were written by people who strongly believed in this unity. But the examples (given below) of remarks, which are as anti-Christian as they are anti-Buddhist and which were omitted by Xu Changzhi, show that the *Poxie ji* is not entirely representative of the kind of anti-Christian documents produced before 1640.

In the dispatch of the Nanking Ministry of Rites to the Nanking Censorate (PXJ 1.21b- 27b) there is a lengthy quotation (21b10-24a7) of the memorial presented in October 1616 by Yan Wenhui, Supervising Secretary of the Nanking Office of Scrutiny for Rites, whose memorial is explicitly mentioned in the imperial edict of expulsion (early 1617). Xu Changzhi omitted two anti-Buddhist passages from Yan’s memorial.¹⁰ Xu also made a slight but significant change in

¹⁰ NGSD 3.17a2-3 (22 char.) and 19a1-9 (127 char.), to be inserted between *man* and *nai* (PXJ 1.22a5) and between *ye* and *Kongzi* (PXJ 1.23b6). Yan’s memorial was translated by Kelly (pp. 290-293). The first passage reads: “Later on Buddhism spread from the Western Regions into China, until today it has been absorbed [by people], although it causes great harm to the mind of people

Shen Que's first memorial (June 1616). Shen Que wrote (the words omitted by Xu Changzhi underlined):

Therefore, although the teachings of Buddhism and Taoism have been propagated for a long time, (yet) they are hardly able to survive and not allowed to go on a par with Confucianism" (NGSD 1.43b2, cf. PXJ 1.6a7).¹¹

Apart from this change in Shen's memorial and the omitting of the two anti-Buddhist passages in Yan Wenhui's memorial, Xu Changzhi did not reproduce all the three prefaces to the *Nangong shudu*. He only reproduced the first preface (PXJ 1.1a-4a), written in 1620 by Chen Yidian (*jinshi* of 1592). The other two prefaces were written by Luo Qinzeng (*jinshi* of 1598) and by Wen Xiangfeng (1577-1642, *jinshi* of 1610). It is easy to see why Xu did not reproduce these two prefaces: both are critical of Buddhism.¹² Wen Xiangfeng, Secretary of the Bureau of Ceremonies in the Nanking Ministry of Rites (since August 1616) - who also signed the inscription for the stele in front of the shrine of Huang Guan (see above) - was among the judges during all of the trials of missionaries and converts. In this capacity he wrote a "Critique in judgement of the Western barbarians" (*chufen Xiyi yi*), found in his *Nanji pian* (Nanking, 1619; 22 *juan*), j. 8, ff. 14b1-17b6. In this critique he also makes a number of anti-Buddhist remarks.¹³ This text is not found in

and to the management of worldly affairs" (cf. Kelly, p. 290, to be inserted before: "Nowadays Christianity [...]").

¹¹ *Gu sui Shi Dao er shi liu chuan ji jiu you jin you zhi bu shi yu Ru jiao bing chi*. Kelly translates: "Therefore the teachings of Buddhism and Taoism have been propagated for a long time and they have spread (throughout China) with Confucianism" (pp. 278-279).

¹² Wen Xiangfeng wrote, among others: "Although the teaching of Buddhism values purity and the barbarians on the contrary like to kill, nevertheless this teaching destroys the relationship between ruler and subject, father and son. How can one discard the five human relationships and at the same time be pure. How can a barbarian law be equalled with the Way of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. The first emperor of the Ming drove away the barbarian Yuan and restored Confucianism. But nowadays one is again fond of Chan (Zen) and secretly thinks that it surpasses Confucianism. This is an omen for attracting barbarians. And indeed, people from the Western Ocean have arrived here, their traces are even more perverse, their theories more cunning than those of robbers."

¹³ He wrote: "When Buddhism first entered [China], there were also Chinese scholars who translated its writings and polished its theories by way of the finest expressions from the Six Classics and the Philosophers. But after some time the

the *Nangong shudu*, which shows that this collection is restricted to the official documents related to the persecution. As mentioned above, even the official documents in this collection were not reproduced in the *Poxie ji*. As the latter collection devotes so much space to this persecution, it gives the misleading impression of containing a full and accurate account of it.

In the remaining part of this article I will reproduce the inventories of the Jesuit house, the most extensive documents omitted in the *Poxie ij*, and give some comment without intending to study them in full technical detail.

2. - *The Inventories*

Shen Que presented his first memorial during the fifth month of 1616 (14.6 - 13.7). On August 20th Grand Secretary Fang Congzhe authorised him to arrest the missionaries. Fang's order reached Nanking on August 30th, and the next day soldiers surrounded the house. During the first two days of September the house was searched, Vagnone, Semedo and the thirteen Chinese living there arrested and the residence sealed. Definite actions could only be taken after the imperial edict of expulsion was issued (February 3rd). On March 16th, 1617 the trial of Vagnone and Semedo started. About a month later (ca. April 25th) the house was searched more thoroughly. On that occasion an inventory was made up, followed a few days later by the public sale of the furniture, both times in the presence of Vagnone (taken from prison). On April 30th Vagnone and Semedo left Nanking and were deported to Canton. Before reproducing the inventories I have to remark that, according to the *Annual Letter* of 1617 (cf. note 7), on August 30th, 1616 around midnight, Vagnone took into safety all religious images and implements (p. 183). In fact there is not a single item in the

opposite situation evolved: the Classics and Philosophers were regarded as being inferior, [because] people who later on read these books, mistakenly inferred that Buddhists writings were originally like this, so that they did not dare to skip or add even a single character to its sentences. [...] As for those who nowadays are helping [to spread] the teaching of the Lord of Heaven, again it is Chinese people who are polishing and embellishing it, and, once again, how can people of later times discern what does not belong to the original western text."

second inventory, which might refer to objects such as chalices and liturgical vestments. However, this inventory also shows that not all religious items were taken into safety, as is confirmed by the same *Annual Letter* (p. 238), according to which European books, images, relics (c.q. reliquaries), rosaries (so far I have found no mention of relics and rosaries in the second inventory), crosses and other religious implements were subsequently burned. Anyway, it is clear that the second inventory does not contain an entirely complete list of what was present in the house before August 30th, 1616.

The first inventory, dated the third month of Wanli 45 (1617, 6.4-4.5), consists of two lists, both of which were signed for receipt by Vagnone (before April 30th). In all they mention 224 items (ca. 1400 pieces), which are the objects not confiscated. The first list mentions 25 items (67 pieces), all western objects which were returned, and the second list 199 items (ca. 1330 pieces), all objects such as furniture, which Vagnone was allowed to sell in order to meet his expenses.¹⁴

The items mentioned in the first list (NGSD 3.28b6-29b3) are:

- (001) 4 feather-pictures of the four seasons (*).
- (002) 3 small paintings (*).
- (003) 3 amber statues in a large suitcase.
- (004) 3 multicoloured stones (prisms).
- (005) 6 strings of ivory beads.
- (006) 3 strings of amber beads.
- (007) 9 glass mirrors (*).
- (008) 1 incomplete 'self-sounding clock' in a small suitcase (*).
- (009) 1 incomplete copper sun-dial in a large suitcase.
- (010) 10 paintings (*).
- (011) 1 glass mirror (*).
- (012) 1 glass mirror in a small chest (*).

¹⁴ It is not clear to me, if the missionaries had to pay for their food in prison and for their transport to Canton. If they did, the opportunity given to them to sell the household utensils can hardly be described as a very generous act. On the other hand, during their arrest they were provided with two ounces of silver monthly (Dunne, p. 144; *PXJ* 1.31a2, 31b7).

- (013) 2 copper wood-rulers.
- (014) 1 wind-harpsichord (organ).
- (015) 1 foreign harpsichord (*).
- (016) 2 pieces of glass-stone (*).
- (017) 1 pair of large porcelain flower vases (*).
- (018) 2 copper censers.
- (019) 1 pair of small porcelain flower vases (*).
- (020) 2 pairs of copper candlestands and 4 copper trays.
- (021) 2 pairs of wooden candlestands.
- (022) 1 hanging candle with flowers of copper.
- (023) 1 copper jar.
- (024) 1 large censer of porcelain.
- (025) 1 piece of amber.

These objects were returned in order to show that “China does not value foreign things and has not the slightest intention of any gain” (*NGSD* 3.27b1-2; *PXJ* 2.26a6-7). In 1615 Vagnone intended to ask for imperial permission to preach Christianity, but Xu Guangqi advised him to discard the plan (*Kelly* 31-32, 205). At least some of these objects might have been kept in the house to offer them as tribute to the emperor (cf. *PXJ* 1.20a) or to show them to visitors (as Ricci did). Objects which I have marked with an asterisk, were offered as tribute to the emperor by Ricci in 1600. By returning these objects the authorities (knowing that not all missionaries were to be expelled) might also have wanted to prevent them from being used in the future to attract people to the foreign teachings or presented to the emperor to ask for official permission to spread their teachings.

Most of the objects in the second list (*NGSD* 3.29b8-35b6) of the first inventory are furniture and household utensils. As the church was part of the house compound, this list also contains items such as shrines, censers and incense, which might have been used in the church.¹⁵ According to western

¹⁵ It is possible that these items were found in the house itself, but at least one item (no. 216) was found in the church: “one shrine of the Lord of Heaven (in the hall for serving Heaven).” Other items mentioned towards the end of the first inventory give the impression that they were also found in the church (see below). Notice that the above-mentioned shrine was to be sold and not burned, unlike the religious objects mentioned in the second inventory. Apparently the shrine was Chinese and the statue or image had been removed (by Vagnone or the authorities).

sources the inventories were made up after a thorough search of the house, because the authorities expected to find treasures and weapons so that they could accuse the missionaries of rebellious intentions.¹⁶ When such items were not found, even the coffin of Feliciano da Silva (who had died in May 1614) was unearthed and opened (showing only his uncorrupted body). Apart from the fact that the western objects (which included precious objects) were returned, it might be pointed out that, given the decision to dismantle the house, the inventories merely testify to a judicial procedure, because furniture etc. had to be removed. The officials supervising the sale were explicitly ordered to see to it that, given the forced character of this sale, potential buyers did not take advantage of the situation and things were sold for reasonable prices. "Although the barbarians are being expelled, one should not disregard the [required] goodness to commiserate with foreigners, without being so careless as 'to let the tiger leave his cage'."¹⁷

The second list (first inventory) consists of the following 199 items (nos. 26-224):¹⁸

(026) 15 tablecloths of white cotton (calico).

(027) 14 larger and smaller tables.

(028) 9 summer beds.

(029) 17,6 ounce of silver.¹⁹

¹⁶ Notice that de Pantoja himself, in defending the missionaries against the accusation of being alchemists, asked for a thorough search of the house (apparently in Peking) to make sure that there were no furnaces, gold etc. (*Jujie*, f. 13b; *Courant*, no. 1321).

¹⁷ *PXJ* 2.26a. Vagnone complained that when he arrived at the house from prison all the furniture etc. had been removed onto the street. The sale proceeded in a chaotic and hasty way. This is the only information we have. Vagnone made no mention of the amount of money he received. This suggests that the sale did not proceed according to instructions, although the information provided by Vagnone is too vague to be able to conclude that the objects were definitely undersold. See B. Bartoli, *La Cina*, Rome, 1663, p. 672 (apparently based on a report by Vagnone).

¹⁸ Without mentioning all the books (such as a number of catalogues or books on furniture etc.) which I occasionally consulted in order to identify certain items, I would like to mention especially C. Clunas, *Superfluous...*, Cambridge, 1991 and K. Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China* (A study of the Fifteenth-Century Carpenter's Manual *Lu Ban jing*), Leiden, 1993.

¹⁹ Notice that Bartoli (cf. note 17) quite correctly (16 instead of 17,6) mentioned the amount of silver found in the residence: "sedici scudi" (p. 649).

- (030) 1 incense box of gold-lacquer.
- (031) 1 copper tray.
- (032) 1 cabinet for flower vases.
- (033) 20 strips of towel cotton.
- (034) 9 silver-inlaid cups.
- (035) 1 silver goblet.
- (036) 17 strips of Bai Tai cotton.
- (037) 1 copper censer.
- (038) 10 cotton coverlets.
- (039) 1 roll of green cotton.
- (040) 81 jackets of different colours, made of plain weave silk and cotton.
- (041) 1 bamboo visiting-card box.
- (042) 1 stone basin.
- (043) 6 clothing cabinets.
- (044) 1 bookcase.
- (045) 2 suitcases.
- (046) 4 pairs of sheepskin lamps.
- (047) 1 woollen waist girdle.
- (048) 1 bundle of woollen thread.
- (049) 2 cloth-racks.
- (050) 1 easy chair.
- (051) 1 small case.
- (052) 4 small chests.
- (053) 10 mosquito curtains.
- (054) 1 roll of green damask.
- (055) 1 roll of swan's-down velvet.
- (056) 11 cotton towels.
- (057) 1 parcel of sandalwood incense.
- (058) 5 rolls of nankeen cotton.
- (059) 12 pairs of ivory chopsticks.
- (060) 1 roll of red gauze.
- (061) 1 roll of pale blue gauze-silk.
- (062) 1 roll of indigo gauze.
- (063) 3 ink slabs.
- (064) 1 parcel of resinous wood incense.
- (065) 2 hand-wrappings (?).
- (066) 1 fan chest.
- (067) 1 tablecloth of swan's-down velvet.
- (068) 1 bookcabinet.
- (069) 3 gold-lacquered cupboards.

- (070) 4 bundles of felt.
- (071) 1 filing case.
- (072) 3 large suitcases.
- (073) 23 cotton cloths.
- (074) 3 sacks.
- (075) 5 bookcabinets.
- (076) 1 folding screen.
- (077) 1 pewter censer.
- (078) 1 bookshelf.
- (079) 1 dressing-cabinet.
- (080) 3 wooden cupboards with railing.
- (081) 3 beds with cane webbing.
- (082) 2 canopy-beds.
- (083) 10 dining-tables.
- (084) 2 folding tables.
- (085) 4 'Eight Immortals' tables.
- (086) 6 wall-tables.
- (087) 2 large long tables.
- (088) 1 incense table.
- (089) 1 large bookshelf.
- (090) 1 small writing-table.
- (091) 23 large chairs (arm-chairs).
- (092) 30 small chairs.
- (093) 4 bamboo chairs.
- (094) 3 easy chairs.
- (095) 1 leather chair.
- (096) 3 cloth-racks.
- (097) 1 wash-basin stand.
- (098) 6 wooden ladders.
- (099) 2 dining-set cupboards.
- (100) 4 gold-lacquered cupboards.
- (101) 4 cupboards of *baishen* wood.
- (102) 2 large cabinets of *hong* wood.
- (103) 1 large cabinet of *baishen* wood.
- (104) 2 *chun* (spring) benches.
- (105) 17 longer and shorter benches.
- (106) 7 larger and smaller bookshelves.
- (107) 15 footstools.
- (108) 3 bamboo sedan-chairs.
- (109) 3 mule litters.
- (110) 1 railing-shelf.

- (111) 1 iron fire-tray and 3 shelves.
- (112) 2 sedan-chair carriers.
- (113) 1 food box.
- (114) 2 boxes with handles.
- (115) 9 larger and smaller wash-trays.
- (116) 3 wash-basins.
- (117) 1 wooden water-tank.
- (118) 1 large foot-stove.
- (119) 1 copper fire basin.
- (120) 1 set of copper vessel for keeping tea warm, and iron jar.
- (121) 6 pewter wine-pots.
- (122) 5 copper trays.
- (123) 4 larger and smaller pewter tea-pots.
- (124) 10 pewter candlestands.
- (125) 1 pewter wine-kettle.
- (126) 2 copper arrow-heads .
- (127) 1 copper hand-wash stove.
- (128) 2 large porcelain basins.
- (129) 35 porcelain tea-cups.
- (130) 7 porcelain flower vases.
- (131) 2 large porcelain bowls.
- (132) 1 pair of wooden flower vases.
- (133) 30 small porcelain wine-cups.
- (134) 1 small food-box.
- (135) 13 larger and smaller, square and round boxes.
- (136) 1 lathe.
- (137) 1 small shrine of gold-lacquer.
- (138) 1 vase of green glass.
- (139) 10 handkerchiefs.
- (140) 280 larger and smaller porcelain wares.
- (141) 6 larger and smaller boxes with handles (picnic boxes?).
- (142) 1 iron stove.
- (143) 2 iron scratchers.
- (144) 2 larger and smaller silver scissors.
- (145) 100 larger and smaller printing blocks.
- (146) 1 small case.
- (147) 1 copper hanging censer.
- (148) 1 leather curtain-chest.
- (149) 1 small chest.
- (150) 5 leather hat-chests.
- (151) 1 tea-bucket.

- (152) 4 larger and smaller saws.
- (153) 1 gold-painted and black-lacquered shrine.
- (154) 72 wax-candles.
- (155) 2 copper panels.
- (156) 6 gold-painted tea-trays.
- (157) 3 larger and smaller food-boxes of bamboo-splint.
- (158) 1 wooden food-box.
- (159) 3 square visiting-card boxes.
- (160) 2 large steelyards.
- (161) 2 iron pincers.
- (162) 1 rice ladle.
- (163) 2 cane pillows.
- (164) 1 hoe.
- (165) 2 pairs of large wooden candlestands, engraved with flowers of gold.
- (166) 10 jars with esoteric food (wafers). ²⁰
- (167) 7 large porcelain flower vases.
- (168) 2 larger and smaller porcelain censers.
- (169) 5 copper panels.
- (170) 1 box coated with gold and hibiscus.
- (171) 2 bookshelf-boards.
- (172) 2 copper censers.
- (173) 4 small porcelain pots.
- (174) 3 pewter jars.
- (175) 3 iron furnaces.
- (176) 4 larger and smaller cooking-pots.
- (177) 2 copper cooking-pots.
- (178) 2 chests of bamboo-splint, containing all kinds of cotton clothes.

²⁰ In the *Kezuo zhuiyu* (6.23b6-25a5) of Gu Qiyuan (1565-1628) there is a well known entry on Matteo Ricci, partly translated by Hsiang Ta in "European Influences on Chinese art in the late Ming and early Ch'ing period", *Renditions* 6 (1978), p. 156; see also the summary of this entry in *DMB* (735b). The concluding part of this entry reads: "Later on his disciple João da Rocha came to Nanking (1600-1609). In intelligence this man cannot compare with Matteo Ricci, but the instruments and pictures he brought with him are similar to those [brought by] Ricci. He used to invite people for dinner and then showed them several sorts of esoteric food (*mishi zhuzhong*), which they offer in sacrifice and is like [food made from] grain or rice [growing] in the desert. It is more white than snow and cannot be compared with rice in China."

- (179) 2 glass mirrors.
- (180) 6 cotton cloths.
- (181) 1 large suitcase containing 23 larger and smaller cloths of plain weave silk, satin and cotton, and various other things.
- (182) 1 cotton coverlet.
- (183) 1 piece of red felt.
- (184) 1 bundle of velvet cloths.
- (185) 1 unlined coverlet of white cotton.
- (186) 1 green cotton sedan-chair cloth, and window-screens.
- (187) 8 cotton cloths.
- (188) 9 rounded cases.
- (189) 2 embroidered coverlets from the Western Ocean.²¹
- (190) 2 woollen blankets (felt).
- (191) 2 plain weave silk skirts.
- (192) 3 cotton coverlets.
- (193) 34 cotton cloths and various other things.
- (194) 2 copper censer-stands.
- (195) 1 pewter lamp-stand.
- (196) 4 silver tea-spoons and various other things.
- (197) 6 larger and smaller suitcases.
- (198) 1 hair carpet.
- (199) 9 rolls of gauze silk, open work silk, plain weave silk and satin, including cotton clothes and various other things.
- (200) 3 larger and smaller board-cases.
- (201) 2 embroidered coverlets.
- (202) 4 pieces of muntjac leather.
- (203) 2 leather coats.
- (204) 1 hood of sable.
- (205) 1 roll of 'kudzu' cotton.
- (206) 1 cloth of felt.
- (207) 1 copper tray.
- (208) 10 cotton cloths and various other things.

²¹ "Western Ocean" might also refer to the Arab countries (visited by Zheng He in the early fifteenth century; see *DMB* 199, 440; cf. e.g. *MS* 332.8624, 8625). Notice that the inventory (1562) of the property of Yan Song (1480-1565) mentions a few objects from the Western Ocean (*Tianshui bingshan lu* [272 folios], in *Zhi bu zu zhai congshu* vols. 108-112), f. 103b (mat), 108b (gauze), 125b (cotton cloth), 131a (serge). For this inventory, see Clunas (cf. note 18), pp. 46-48; *DMB* 1591.

- (209) 3 larger and smaller bookshelves.
- (210) 1 hemp carpet.
- (211) 2 rolls of white cotton.
- (212) 8 larger and smaller, deep and shallow cooking-pots.
- (213) 2 boards beaten for announcements.
- (214) 6 larger and smaller cases for writing utensils.
- (215) 1 cabinet.
- (216) 1 shrine of the Lord of Heaven (in the hall for serving Heaven).
- (217) 1 set of a white gauze sheet and a tablecloth.
- (218) 1 curtain-chest.
- (219) 4 gourds (bottles) of *sanbai* wine.
- (220) 3 jars of esoteric food (wafers) and 6 jars of wine.
- (221) 3 leather book-covers.
- (222) 1 bucket with salted eggs.
- (223) 4 catties of rice.
- (224) 10 picul of brushwood (fuel).

I refrain from making a detailed analysis of this list ²² or placing it in the context of material culture of late Ming times, not only for reasons of space, but also because this subject is not my specialisation area.

The second inventory is a list of 127 confiscated items. By way of the headings in the list and the rescripts (*tangpi*) after a certain set, the list can be divided into 6 sections:

- 1) Chinese books (nos. 1-63).
- 2) Foreign books on astronomical computation (*tuibu*) translated into Chinese (nos. 65-77) and astronomical instruments (nos. 78-85).

²² There were e.g. 38 tables (nos. 27, 83-87), 16 tablecloths (26, 67), 62 chairs (50, 91-95), 19 benches (104-105), 15 footstools (107), 14 beds (28, 81-82), 21 coverlets or blankets (38, 182, 185, 189-190, 192, 201), 47 items such as tea-cups, tea-pots etc., 37 items such as wine-cups etc., 18 bookcabinets (shelves), 23 rolls of cotton etc., 16 objects of silver, and so on. Several items must have been found in the church or anyway are religious items, such as 3 shrines (137, 153, 216), 13 jars with esoteric food (cf. note 20) and 6 jars of wine (166, 220, cf. 219); see also nos. 213, 217 (used for the altar?) and 221.

3) Documents such as deeds (nos. 87-88).

4) Forbidden objects: bowls and dishes decorated with dragons; water-wheels, and geographical maps (nos. 89-95).

5) Christian books in Chinese (nos. 96-102), foreign books (no. 103), and barbarian images, mainly of the Lord of Heaven (nos. 104-118).

6) Other objects (besides those mentioned in the previous section) to be destroyed and burned (nos. 119-127): printing-blocks, tablets in front of the residence and the church, and cases filled with mainly foreign books.

After a cursory look at the items in each of these 6 sections, I will conclude this paper with a more detailed look at the Chinese books mentioned in the first section.

- 1) (001-063) Chinese books. [3.36a4-39b4, see below, pp. 143-144]
- (064) one bookcabinet, filled with the mentioned books.

Rescript [3.39b6-9]:

The aforementioned books are a repository of Chinese literature and it would have been improper for distant barbarians to take them with them. That they were kept in the city department shows an understanding of the main principle. They will be deposited in the library of the Hanlin Academy.

- 2) Foreign books (*fanshu*) translated and printed (nos. 65-77) [3.40a1-40b6]:

	volumes	(ce)
(065) * <i>Jihe yuanben</i>	12	(4)
(066) * <i>Gougu yi</i>	5	(1)
(067) * <i>Taixi shuifa</i>	8	(2)
(068) * <i>Tongwen suanzhi qianbian</i>	3	(1)
(069) * <i>Tongwen suanzhi tongbian</i>	8	(4)
(070) <i>Tongwen suanzhi biebian</i>	1	
(071) * <i>Huanrong jiaoyi</i>	1	(1)
(072) * <i>Biaodu shuo</i>	7	(1)
(073) * <i>Tianwen lüe</i>	2	(1)
(074) * <i>Celiang fayi</i>	2	(1)

- (075) *Qiankun tiyi* 2
 (076) * *Jianping yi shuo* 4 (1)(55 volumes)
 (077) *Shui fa Liang fa* 2 manuscripts.

The aforementioned items are all books about astronomical computation (*tuibu*).²³

Astronomical instruments (nos. 78-85, 8 items, 11 pieces) [3.40b7-41a6]:

- (078) 1 celestial globe.
 (079) 1 terrestrial globe.
 (080) 1 self-sounding clock.
 (081) 1 large map of solar and lunar eclipse.
 (082) 1 small map of solar and lunar eclipse (centre of copper, *tongxin*).
 (083) 3 small armillary spheres.
 (084) 1 stone globe.
 (085) 2 lunar eclipse vases (inside one broken).

Rescript [3.41a7-41b6]:

The aforementioned books on astronomical computation and the astronomical instruments will all be sent to the Bureau of Astronomy for storage.

Additional rescript:

As for the private hiding of astronomical instruments, there is a special article in the Code [forbidding it] (cf. *PXJ* 2.22b). These barbarians came from afar and overtly took the right to fabricate them (cf. *FR* n. 541). Therefore they violated our laws, even to the point that they commissioned the construction [of these instruments] in various houses of the gentry, an

²³ Twelve titles in 55 volumes (number of copies not indicated), and 2 manuscripts (2 titles?). Except for the manuscripts, most of these books were reprinted some 10 years later in the *Tianxue chuhan* (*). In the list I have added between brackets the number of volumes (*ce*) in the *Tianxue chuhan* (as preserved in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Or. 142-143). I assume that the 55 volumes cover ca. 34 copies (12 titles). Notice that the *Tongwen suanzhi*, usually regarded as a single work, consists of three parts and that the *biebian* (apparently printed) seems to have been preserved only in manuscript (Courant, no. 4863; cf. Li Yan, *Zhongsuan shi luncong*, vol. 3, pp. 20, 24).

[unlawful] act which is not even recorded in the law. It was correct that the Censorate kept these instruments here. A closed examination of their celestial spheres, terrestrial globes and the like, as well as of the books on astronomical computation they composed, showed that their measurements do not accord at all with those used in China (cf. *PXJ* 1.25b). To keep them would be of no use, but to destroy them would be a pity. They will be deposited in the Bureau of Astronomy, where no one will be allowed to touch them without permission.

[41b7:] The county treasury.

- 3) (no heading:) [3.41b8-42a7].
- (086) 1 scroll of writing on leather (*pihua*)
(it has a wooden case and inside three rulers). ²⁴
- (087) 1 envelope with deeds (*wenji*, 8 items, 23 pages),
containing:
 - 6 pages of property deed of Chongli street.
 - 1 page of travel permit.
 - 4 pages of property deed of Xiyang (street). ²⁵
 - 2 pages of property deed of clover garden. ²⁶
 - 1 page of lease contract.
 - 4 pages of deeds of adopted sons. ²⁷

²⁴ (*You mu tao nei chi san tiao*). I take *pihua* in the sense of *huage* (to write on leather, parchment), found in *Shiji* 123.3162: in Anxi (Parthia) they write on parchment and in horizontal columns (cf. Morohashi, no. 21859.31). This proposed translation, however, does not solve the question as to exactly what type of object *pihua* refers. The fact that it is mentioned (or was found) together with a packet of deeds suggests that it also is a kind of deed or contract.

²⁵ For the location of the residence, see *FR* n. 562, p. 84, note 6 (based on *PXJ* 2.28a). The property deed of Chongli street probably refers to the house bought by Ricci in 1599. In 1605 da Rocha bought a second house located at the back of the residence (*FR* l.c.). As the residence was located between Chongli street and Xiyang street (see *FR*, tavola XI), the property deed of Xiyang (street, see *PXJ* 1.20a3) apparently refers to the house bought in 1605.

²⁶ The missionaries owned a garden (elsewhere in the documents called *huayuan*, flower garden) outside the city walls, near the Imperial Tombs. The garden contained some buildings (*PXJ* 2.25b8) and apparently also a chapel, as congregations were held there (*PXJ* 1.24b8).

²⁷ This might refer to four persons. Anyway three 'adopted sons', all aged 13 at the time of their arrest, were living in the residence: Liu Ren'er, Long'er and Liu Benduo (Benedict), sold to de Pantoja and Vagnone by their father or uncle. The fourth adopted son is probably Zou Sanlang (aged 14), whose parents had died and who was sent by his grandfather to Cattaneo in Hangzhou in order to study and then to Nanking. For these four persons, see Kelly, pp. 237-239.

- 4 pages of certificates.
- 1 page of *chaopai* (voucher?).

Rescript [3.42a8-9]:

As for stealthily hiding oneself in the country, there is a special article in the Code. So how could there be any question of [legally] buying property ²⁸ and buying people (adopted sons). The aforementioned items will be kept at the Ministry for future reference.

4) (no heading, nos. 88-95, 8 items, 31 pieces) [3.42b1-8]:

- (088) 2 bowls with white dragon design.
- (089) 2 dishes with white dragon design.
- (090) 2 water-wheels.
- (091) 1 small water-wheel.
- (092) 1 folding screen with *Wanguo quantu*.
- (093) 17 geographical maps.
- (094) 4 folding screens.
- (095) 2 Mountain and Sea maps (*Shanghai tu*). ²⁹

Rescript [3.42b9-43a1]:

Bowls and dishes [decorated] with white dragons are forbidden objects ³⁰ and they have to be destroyed. The other objects such as the wheels and maps will be handed over for investigation as to how to dispose of them.

²⁸ Defending the missionaries against the accusation of having settled in Nanking illegally, de Pantoja remarks in his memorial that Ricci had bought the (haunted) place, which was offered to him and which he had not chosen himself, a fact of which everyone in Nanking was aware. "The deeds are still there as a proof" (*Jujie*; Courant, no. 1321, f. 17a).

²⁹ Items 92 and 95 undoubtedly refer to editions of Ricci's World Map, e.g. *Shanghai yudi quantu*, Nanking, 1600, and *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, Peking, 1602.

³⁰ See "Prohibitions on the use of utensils" (*Mingshi* 68.1672, identical text in the *Da Ming huidian* of 1587), translated by Clunas (cf. note 18), p. 149.

Additional rescript [3.43a2]: The county treasury.

5) (no heading, nos. 96-102, 7 titles, 248 volumes) [3.43a3-43b1]:

volumes:

(096)* <i>Tianzhu shiyi</i>	57	(Ricci)
(097) <i>Tianzhu jiaoyao</i>	113	(Ricci and others)
(098)* <i>Jiaoyou lun</i>	5	(Ricci) ³¹
(099) <i>Tianzhu shengxiang lüe</i>	13	(Xu Guangqi)
(100)* <i>Qike</i>	21	(de Pantoja)
(101)* <i>Jiren shipian</i>	2	(Ricci)
(102)* <i>Ershiwu yan</i>	37	(Ricci)

The aforementioned items are all books by which the people are deluded. ³²

(103) Books with foreign characters [*fanzi shu*],
in all more than 200 larger and smaller volumes. ³³

- Barbarian images [*huxiang*] (nos. 104-118, 15 items, 38 pieces) [3.43b4-44b1]:

(104) 2 screens of large painted image of the Lord of Heaven. ³⁴

(105) 1 copper image (statue) of the Lord of Heaven
(inside there is a wooden case with one golden coin).

³¹ Besides a copy of Ricci's World Map (cf. note 29), a copy of the *Jiaoyou lun* was found in the library of Zhao Yongxian (Shen Que's teacher, see above); *Zhao Dingyu shumu* (cf. note 57), pp. 92 (*Li Madou ditu*), p. 104 (*Jiaoyou lun*).

³² All these books (number of copies not indicated) are well known (**Tianxue chuhan*). In addition to Ricci's World Map (see note 29) virtually all scientific and religious works published up to 1616 were present (nos. 65-76, 96-102). Absent are Li Zhizao's *Hungai tongxian tushuo*; Soeiro's *Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan*; Vagnone's explanation of the "Dottrina Christiana" (*Tianzhu Jiaoyao jielüe* (1615), although it was quoted during the trials of the missionaries (e.g. *PXJ* 1.23a, 2.22a10). The fact that the *Tianzhu jiaoyao* was given to people in preparation for baptism explains why there are so many copies of it (for this quite short text, the 113 volumes certainly cover 113 copies).

³³ See also nos. 123, 125-127.

³⁴ It is striking that this list (nos. 104-118) does not mention images or statues of Mary, yet they were undoubtedly present. In his *Kezuo chuiyu* (cf. note 20) Gu Qiyuan describes a picture of Mary with Child which he had seen in the Nanking residence (*DMB* 735b). Vagnone must have removed them on the night of August 30th 1616 (see above).

- (106) 2 square glass-boxes with an image inside.
- (107) 2 round glass-boxes with an image inside.
- (108) 1 image of the Lord of Heaven
with glass surface and wooden borders.
- (109) 5 copper blocks with an image of the Lord of Heaven.
- (110) 5 painted blocks with an image of the Lord of Heaven.
- (111) 3 ivory images (statues) of one dying nailed.
- (112) 2 moulds of small image of the Lord of Heaven.
- (113) 4 scrolls with an image of the Lord of Heaven.
- (114) 3 scrolls with painted images of the Lord of Heaven.
- (115) 4 scrolls with printed images of the Lord of Heaven.
- (116) 1 scroll with several images of foreign monks [*fanseng*].
- (117) 2 blocks with an image of the Lord of Heaven.
- (118) 1 foreign image [*fanxiang*].

Rescript [3.44b2-3]:

To depict someone nailed is an heterodox art for incurring someone's death. Together with the other barbarian images and the aforementioned books which delude the people they have to be destroyed.

6) Objects to be split into fragments and to be consumed by fire [3.44b4-45a4]:

- (119) 170 printing-blocks of foreign books (*fanshu*).³⁵
- (120) 37 printing-blocks of regulations (*tiaoyue*).³⁶
- (121) 1 tablet with the text: *Da Xi ru she*
(Residence of the scholars from the Great West).

³⁵ I have no idea to which kind of text(s) this refers. According to Ch. Boxer ("Some Sino-European Xylographic Works, 1662-1718", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1947, pp. 199-215), the earliest western text printed in China (except Macao) is the *Sapientia Sinica* (1662).

³⁶ This probably refers to rules (in Chinese) for congregations or confraternities. Only copies of later editions of such rules are preserved. They are not books in the strict sense of the word, as they were only distributed to members. The first congregation (dedicated to Mary) in China was founded by Ricci in Peking in 1609. Vagnone also founded a Marian congregation in Nanking (Dunne, pp. 121-122).

- (122) 1 tablet with the text: *Shi Tian tang*
(Hall for serving Heaven) ³⁷
- (123) 1 bookcoffer (filled with foreign books).
- (124) 1 small cabinet (filled with small images and small wares).
- (125) 1 large cabinet (filled with all kinds of books).
- (126) 1 bamboo case (filled with barbarian books, *yishu*).
- (127) 1 small bamboo case (filled with barbarian books).

Rescript [3.45a5-9, end of document]: ³⁸

By making a tablet for the beamless temple (*wuliang dian*) with the text “Hall for serving Heaven” (*shi Tian tang*) they assumed that they could conceal the traces of their arrogance. But “receiving Heaven [’s influence] (*cheng Tian*) and “entrusted by Heaven” (*feng Tian*) are expressions which [use] is only allowed in reference to the dwelling of the Son of Heaven. These barbarian slaves usurped the designation “to serve Heaven” in order to stir up and delude ignorant people. This is the utmost [of their crimes]. Together with the barbarian images, [these tablets] have to be split into fragments and consumed by fire in order to rectify the customs.

³⁷ The church was opened in May 1611. According to the *Annual Letter* of 1611, a convert and high official offered two tablets, one for the church with the text *Su Tien Tam* (Aula divino servitio deputata) and one for the residence with the text *Thai ta si ju xe* (Magni Occidentis Litteratorum Domus), see *FR* II, p. 615, note 2 (*thai* apparently was a mistake and corrected into *ta*).

³⁸ The last document (not reproduced in the *Poxie ji*) concerning this subject is a report of the Nanking Ministry of Rites to the Office of Scrutiny for Rites (NGSD 3.45b1-46a9), dated the 5th month of 1617 (3.6-2.7), which summarises the decisions mentioned in the rescripts.

CHINESE BOOKS 中國書目, Nangong shudu 3.35b8-45a9

(清查夷物又一案, NGSD 3.36a4-39b5)

部 / 本

(*套)

(1) 3 /15	<i>Sishu</i>	四書
(2) 2*	<i>Sishu daquan</i>	四書大全
(3) 1 /36 (26)	<i>Sishu zhijie</i>	四書直解
(4) 1 /10	<i>Sishu jizhu</i>	四書集註
(5) 1 / 5	<i>Sishu faren</i>	四書發軔
(6) 1 / 6	<i>Yijing daquan</i>	易經大全
(7) 1*	<i>Yijing benyi</i>	易經本義
(8) 1*	<i>Yijing daquan</i>	易經大全
(9) 1 / 4	<i>Yijing jizhu</i>	易經集註
(10) 1 / 4	<i>Yang shi Yizhuan</i>	楊氏易傳
(11) 4 /17	<i>Shijing</i>	詩經
(12) 1*	<i>Shijing daquan</i>	詩經大全
(13) 1*	<i>Shijing jizhu</i>	詩經集註
(14) 1 / 4	<i>Shijing jizhu</i>	詩經集註
(15) 1 / 2	<i>Shujing jizhu</i>	書經集註
(16) 1 /10	<i>Chunqiu Zuozhuan</i>	春秋左傳
(17) 1 / 2	<i>Chunqiu Huzhuan</i>	春秋胡傳
(18) 1 / 4	<i>Liji</i>	禮記
(19) 1*	<i>Liji jizhu</i>	禮記集註
(20) 1 / 5	<i>Liji jizhu</i>	禮記集註
(21) 1 / 5	<i>Liji zhuji</i>	禮記註解
(22) 1 /10	<i>Liji jishuo</i>	禮記集說
(23) 1 /22	<i>Zuozhuan Liang Han Chu Sao Shiji</i>	左傳兩漢楚騷史記
(Zuo Guo Liang Han Chu Sao Taishi 左國兩漢楚騷太史)		
(24) 1*	<i>Nanhua jing</i>	南華經
(25) 1	<i>Daode jing</i>	道德經
(26) 1	<i>Laozi yuequan</i>	老子約筌
(27) 2*	<i>Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi</i>	三國志通俗演義
(28) 1*	<i>Shi quan</i>	史詮

(29) 1 / 8	<i>Shaowei tongjian</i>	少微通鑑
(30) 1 / 7	<i>Zizhi tongjian</i>	資治通鑑
(31) 1 / 16	<i>Tongjian zhijie</i>	通鑑直解
(32) 2 / 3	<i>Dijian tushuo</i>	帝鑑圖說
(33) 1 / 7	<i>Xi Han yanyi</i>	西漢演義
(34) 1 *	<i>Zhuzi luyao</i>	朱子錄要
(35) 1 / 12	<i>Wenxuan jinzi</i>	文選錦字
(36) 1 *	<i>Gujin shishan</i>	古今詩刪
(37) 1 / 5	<i>Shiyun jilile</i>	詩韻輯略
(38) 1 / 2	<i>Yunhai quanshu</i>	韻海全書
(39) 1 / 5	<i>Gujin shiyun shiyi</i>	古今詩韻釋義
(40) 1 / 7 大板	<i>Wuyin jiyun</i>	五音集韻
(41) 1 / 5 大板	<i>Wuyin pianhai</i>	五音篇海
(42) 1 / 6	<i>Jiali yuexing</i>	家禮約行
(43) 1 / 6	<i>Wanquan bianlan</i>	萬全便覽
(44) 1 / 2	<i>Wanshu zhibao</i>	萬書至寶
(45) 2 / 10	<i>Shuyan gushi</i>	書言故事
(46) 1 / 2	<i>Hanmo lin</i>	翰墨林
(47) 1 / 8	<i>Fengjiao yunjian</i>	風教雲箋
(48) 1 / 2	<i>Gujin mingyan zhaiyao</i>	古今名言摘要
(49) 1 / 2	<i>Caihan feilong</i>	綵翰飛龍
(50) 2 / 3	<i>Rongshi leizhan</i>	戎事類占
(51) 2 / 8	<i>Da Ming guanzhi</i>	大明官制
(52) 1 / 4	<i>Wenmiao yue bian</i>	文廟樂編
(53) 1 *	<i>Chenzi shiyou tongren</i>	陳子師友同仁
(54) 1 / 7	<i>Lingxi bingzheng chao</i>	嶺西兵政抄
(55) 1 / 3	<i>Li Yang yigao</i>	李楊遺稿
(56) 1 / 2	<i>Huang Jiushi Zhou Yi shuojie</i>	黃九石周易說解
(57) 1 / 2	<i>Qiao Bogui Yinqiao pian</i>	喬伯圭蚓竅篇
(58) 1 / 4	<i>Huantai yan [=san] bian</i>	桓臺言〔三〕編
(59) 1 / 4	<i>Jinxi yuyao</i>	近溪語要
(60) 1 / 3	<i>Sanjiao hui bian</i>	三教會編
(61) 1 / 2	<i>Chuxue dengtan</i>	初學登壇
(62) 1 / 15	<i>Jinshi lili</i>	進士履歷
(63) 1 / 4	<i>Jiangning xianzhi</i>	江寧縣志

The list mentions 63 titles (without giving the names of authors or compilers), indicating the number of copies (*bu*) and volumes (*ben*), or only the number of boxes (*tao*). Actually there are 72 copies of 63 books with 60 different titles:

51 titles (in all 329 volumes, ³⁹ including 6 titles with together 9 duplicates); ⁴⁰

12 titles (together 14 boxes): 2 titles, each in two boxes, ⁴¹ and 10 titles, each in one box, three of which have the same title as three of the 51 titles and probably are other editions of the same text. ⁴²

Of these 60 titles, 30 are well known. Of the remaining 30 titles I have been able to identify 19. Of the unidentified 11 titles (nos. 5, 21, 42-44, 48-49, 53-55, 61), 7 or 8 (excluding nos. 53-55 and possibly 61) seem to have been primers, schoolbooks or popular handbooks, which usually are not to be found in bibliographies. Although it is hard to arrive at a definite identification of certain editions only by way of the number of volumes (as indicated below in the notes), it is likely that all works in this library were quite recent editions. ⁴³

The present books were classified in a not entirely traditional way, which might be roughly summarised as follows:

³⁹ The *Sishu zhijie* (26 *juan*, by Zhang Juzheng; QQ 3.89) is said to consist of 36 *ben*. This is apparently a mistake for 26 *ben*, as Wang Zhongmin describes a Wanli edition in 26 *ce* (Wang 1983, p. 44a). I have counted the book as consisting of 26 *ben* and the total number as 329 (339-10).

⁴⁰ Four copies: *Shijing* (no. 11); three copies: *Sishu* (no. 1); two copies: *Dijian tushuo* (no. 32), *Shuyan gushi* (no. 45), *Rongshi leizhan* (no. 50) and *Da Ming guanzhi* (no. 51).

⁴¹ *Sishu daquan* (no. 2) and *Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi* (no. 27). As they are both extensive texts, I assume that "two boxes" does not imply that there were two copies of both texts.

⁴² *Yijing daquan* (nos. 6, 8), *Shijing jizhu* (13, 14) and *Liji jizhu* (19, 20).

⁴³ As for the number of titles and copies (63 and 72), the library was only slightly smaller than the one in Yan Song's residence (71 titles and 88 copies), although it contained far fewer volumes (329 volumes and 14 boxes as against 2613 volumes), see *Tianshui bingshan lu* (cf. note 21), ff. 180a-184a (for the total numbers, see f. 184a). The main difference, however, is that Yan's library was mainly a collection of old editions (Song and Yuan). There is no indication that such editions were among the books in the Jesuit library, which would also have been surprising, as it was essentially a students' library (see below).

- (1-22) Confucian Classics;
- (23-26) other classical works (such as *Zhuangzi* and *Daode jing*);
- (27-33) history;
- (34-41) literature and language;
- (42-51) handbooks and encyclopedia;
- (52-63) remnant category.

The Confucian Classics cover about one third of all titles, and looking at the number of volumes even more: 129 (39%) of the 329 volumes and 7 of the 14 boxes, including 3 different editions (nos. 8, 14 and 20) and 5 duplicate copies (two of no. 1 and three of no. 11):

(1-5)	Four Books	5 titles: 56 volumes and 2 boxes;
(6-10)	Classic of Changes	5 titles: 14 volumes and 2 boxes;
(11-14)	Classic of Songs	4 titles: 21 volumes and 2 boxes;
(15)	Classic of Documents	1 title : 2 volumes
(16-17)	Spring and Autumn Annals	2 titles: 12 volumes
(18-22)	Book of Rites	5 titles: 24 volumes and 1 box.

Within this set of 22 titles, the Four Books (no. 1-5, covering the largest number of volumes) are placed first, which was quite common at the time.⁴⁴ As these Classics and commentaries are well known, I will treat them only briefly.

- plain texts (9 copies): *Sishu*; *Shijing*; *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*; *Liji* (nos. 1, 11, 16, 18).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ T. Grimm, *Erziehung und Politik im konfuzianischen China der Ming-Zeit*, Hamburg, 1960, pp. 95, 100 (pp. 93-100: Lehr-und Studentexte der Ming-Zeit).

⁴⁵ The fact that these four titles are mentioned first (within the subdivision of the Classics), suggests that they are texts without commentaries. For example, a *Chunqiu Zuozhuan* (30 *juan*), collated by Shen Jingde (Wanli edition), consists of 10 *ce* (Wang 1983, p. 27).

- incomplete set of the *Sishu Wujing daquan*, edited by Hu Guang (1370-1418) in 1415, which edition contains the commentaries by Neo-Confucians of the 11th to 13th centuries:

(2) *Sishu daquan*; (6, 8) *Yijing daquan* and (12) *Shijing daquan*.

- editions with collected commentaries (*jizhu*):

(4) *Sishu jizhu* by Zhu Xi (1130-1200);

(13, 14) *Shijing jizhu* by Zhu Xi; ⁴⁶

(15) *Shujing jizhu* by Cai Shen (1167-1230); ⁴⁷

(19, 20) *Liji jizhu* (a title given to several different compilations); ⁴⁸

(9) *Yijing jizhu* by probably Lai Zhide (1525-1604). ⁴⁹

- other editions:

(3) Zhang Juzheng (1525-1582), *Sishu zhijie*; ⁵⁰

(7) Zhu Xi, *Yi jing benyi*; ⁵¹

(10) Yang Jian (1141-1225), *Yang shi Yizhuan*; ⁵²

⁴⁶ *Sishu jizhu*, 10 vols (NB 33: 1564 edition, 21 *juan*, 10 *ce*; NCL 61: Ming reprint of 1447 edition, 28 *juan*, 10 *ce*); *Shijing jizhu*, 4 vols (cf. BT 50, 1556 edition, 6 *ce*).

⁴⁷ 2 volumes; cf. 1572 edition: 10 *juan*, 2 *ce* (BT 35).

⁴⁸ Respectively an edition in 1 box and one in 5 volumes. I could not find an edition in 5 *ce*. Xu Shizeng (*jinsshi* of 1553) compiled a *Liji jizhu*, which edition (30 *juan*, 10 *ce*, 1575; BT 79, SKQSZM 24.193) was based on the *Liji jishuo* by Chen Hao (see below, no. 22). The last text is sometimes also called *Liji jizhu*, see BT 78: editions in 10 (1597) and 8 *ce* (Ming). A compilation by Chen Rong bears the same title (NB 14: 10 *juan*, 10 *ce*, 1593).

⁴⁹ This title (4 volumes) probably refers to the *Zhou Yi jizhu* (QQ 1.8; MS 283.7291), composed by Lai Zhide, also called *Yijing jizhu* (NB 3); Lai himself mentions this latter title in his *Xinxue huiming jie* (see Huang Zongxi, *Mingru xue'an* [1676], j. 53, f. 14a7, reproduced by Huang Yunmei, *Mingshi kaozheng*, vol. 7 [Peking, 1985], p. 2207). The text (reproduced in the *Siku quanshu*; SKQSZM 5.30) was first published in 1599 (NCL 7: 9 *ce*) and reprinted in 1610 (NB 3: 10 *ce*) and in 1632 (NCL 7: 4 *ce*).

⁵⁰ Cf. above, note 39. Zhang's commentary was closely followed by Jesuits in the Latin translation of the Four Books by Magalhães (1668) and Couplet (1687). See D.E. Mungello, *Curious Land. Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, 1985; Honolulu, 1989, pp. 101, 261, 268-271, 280-283. The present list shows that it was already used much earlier.

⁵¹ This title (1 box) probably does not refer to the original edition (12 *juan*), but to the edition (4 *juan* and a preliminary *juan*) by Cheng Ju (*juren* of 1420), in which the original order was changed and which became the standard edition for examination candidates during the Ming (SKQSZM 3.11-12; Wang 1983, p. 3). For editions in 5 *juan*, see BT 16 (1521 edition) and Shao Yichen (1810-1861), *Zengding Siku jianming mulu biao*, Shanghai, 1957, 1979, pp. 13-14 (1601 edition).

⁵² The *Siku quanshu* reviewers describe the 1595 edition (in 4 *ce*, like the present one; BT 20; NCL 4: Nanking, 1595, 2 *ce*). Yang Jian was a disciple of Lu

(17) Hu Anguo (1074-1138), *Chunqiu Huzhuan*; ⁵³

(22) Chen Hao (1261-1341), *Liji jishuo*; ⁵⁴

- not identified: (5) *Sishu faren* and (21) *Liji zhujie*. Apparently, the first book is a primer (*faren*, to start a journey). The second book might be a schoolbook, as it deals with explanations of commentaries (*zhujie*).

Apart from the plain texts (1, 11, 16, 18) and the primers or schoolbooks (5 and 21), to which also Zhang Juzheng's *Sishu zhijie* (3) written for the young Wanli emperor belongs, virtually all the other books had been required reading for examination candidates since the Tianshun period (1457-1464). ⁵⁵ The two commentaries which do not fit within this 'set' are those to the *Book of Changes* by (probably) Lai Zhide (no. 9) and by Yang Jian (no. 10), ⁵⁶ but I have not made any inquiry as regards the popularity of these two commentaries in the early seventeenth century. In the late eighteenth century, however, both commentaries were reproduced in *Siku quanshu*, which confirms that (despite the critical remark which the *Siku*

Xiangshan (1139-1192); his comments concentrate on "mind and nature" and are influenced by Chan Buddhism (*SKQSZM* 3.13).

⁵³ For Hu's commentary (30 *juan*; NB 21: 1605 edition, 4 *ce*), see *SKQSZM* 27.219; Wang 1983, p. 25; *DMB* 1387a.

⁵⁴ *SKQSZM* 21.170. Editions of the text (10 *juan*, completed in 1322) in 10 *ce* (like the present title) were published during the Ming (*BT* 78, *NCL* 31), in 1537 (*NB* 13) and with the title *Liji jizhu* in 1597 (see above, note 48). Another collection of commentaries with the same title was compiled by Wei Shi (Song), but it consists of 160 *juan* (42 *ce*; *YWZ* 158).

⁵⁵ See the list in the Examination Annals of the *Mingshi* (70.1694) and Huang Zuo (1490-1566; *DMB* 669-672, 1060), *Nanyong zhi* (1544) 17.7a, Taipei, 1976, vol. 4, p. 1399: the commentary by Zhu Xi to the *Four Books* (no. 4), those by Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi to the *Book of Changes* (no. 7; cf. note 51), that by Cai Shen to the *Book of Documents* (no. 15), that by Zhu Xi to the *Book of Odes* (nos. 13, 14), that by Hu Anguo to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (no. 17) and that by Chen Hao to the *Book of Rites* (no. 22, cf. 19-20), in addition to the commentaries collected in *Sishu Wujing daquan* (nos. 2, 6, 8, 12). The only commentary of which a separate edition is missing is Cheng Yi's *Yi zhuan* (4 *juan*), which, however, together with Zhu Xi's *benyi* (no. 7), is the main commentary used in the *Yijing daquan* (nos. 6, 8). Instead of Cheng Yi's *Yi zhuan*, we find here Yang Jian's *Yi zhuan*.

⁵⁶ Lu Xiangshan and Yang Jian (cf. note 52) built the foundations for the later 'Learning of the Mind', which reached its culmination with Wang Yangming (1472-1529). Although there were real differences between the opinions of Zhu Xi and those of Lu and Yang, Zhu Xi's real rival was neither Lu nor Yang, but their illustrious follower, Wang Yangming (Feng Yu-lan, D. Bodde trsl., *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2 [1953, 1983], p. 592).

quanshu reviewers made about Yang's commentary) they were sufficiently orthodox. Notice that the commentary to the *Classic of Changes* (56) by Huang Guoding was not put here, which might well indicate that Huang's explanation did not proceed along 'orthodox' lines.

The extensive work (22 volumes) that follows, (23) *Zuozhuan Liang Han Chusao Shiji* (usually entitled: *Zuo Guo Liang Han Chusao Taishi*) apparently was appended to the section 'Classics', because it contains the finest expressions in one Classic (*Zuozhuan*) and other classical works: *Guoyu*, *Hanshu* and *Hou Hanshu*, the poem *Lisao* in the *Chuci*, and the *Shiji* of the Grand Historian (*taishi*), Sima Qian. This series of books, edited under the collective title *Wenlin qixiu* (59 *juan*, 1577), also included the *Wenxuan jinzi* (no. 35).⁵⁷ The collection, usually classified as an encyclopedic work (*leishu*), was compiled by the celebrated publisher Ling Dizhi (father of Ling Mengchu, 1580-1644; DMB 830), who also composed most of the works: *Zuo Guo yuci* (8 *juan*), *Taishi huaju* (8 *juan*), the second part of the *Liang Han junyan* (16 *juan*, the first 10 *juan* with sentences from only the *Hanshu* were compiled by Lin Yue of Song times) and the *Wenxuan jinzi* (21 *juan*). The *Chu Sao qiyu* (6 *juan*) was composed by Zhang Zhixiang (1500-1587).

The following three titles contain some Taoist 'classical' works, the (24) *Nanhua jing* (Zhuangzi), (25) *Daode jing* and (26) *Laozi yuequan*, a commentary composed by a contemporary, Li Deng, the editor of the 1598 gazetteer of Nanking (no. 63).⁵⁸ Although in a way surprising, the presence

⁵⁷ That the *Zuozhuan Liang Han Chusao Shiji* (22 *ben*), as such an unknown title, which together with the *Wenxuan jinzi* (12 *ben*) consists of 34 *ben*, is a part of the *Wenlin qixiu* (BT 1556: 48 *ce*; NCL 638: 24 *ce*; NB 277: 1608 edition, 8 *ce*) is confirmed by the fact that Zhao Yongxian (1535-1596) owned a copy in 34 volumes (*ben*), see *Zhao Dingyu shumu*, Shanghai, 1957, p. 71. For these five works (also part of the *Wenlin qixiu*), see Qiu Kaiming, "Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing xueshe tushuguan cang Mingdai leishu gaishu", *Qinghua xuebao*, new series, 2/1961 (pp. 93-115), pp. 103-104, nos. 28, 32-35; see also QQ 15.397; MS 98.2449 (p. 2457, note 10); SKQSZM 65.580, 137.1169, 1170.

⁵⁸ Notice that an edition of the *Daode jing* (NCL 824: 2 *juan*, 1 *ce*) was published in 1596 and collated by Feng Mengzhen (1546-1605), at that time Chancellor of the Nanking National University. The title *Laozi yuequan* (2 *juan*) I could find only in the *Qianqing tang shumu* (QQ 16.433) of Huang Yuji (1629-1691). Li Deng, a native of Nanking and a tribute student of 1561, was quite a prolific writer. Huang Yuji mentions 15 titles: QQ 1.9; 3.94, 97; 11.310; 16.426,

of these Taoist works does not necessarily point to an interest in the *Zhuangzi* and *Laozi* as such, because in addition to the Five Classics these works were also regarded as models for learning how to write in a proper style.⁵⁹

The section “history” (27-33) consists of 7 titles (41 volumes and 3 boxes). It opens and closes with a historical novel: the well known (27) *Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi* and the (33) *Xi Han yanyi* (attributed to Zhong Xing, 1574-1624). There follows a textual explanation of Sima Qian’s *Historical Records*, (28) *Shi quan* (5 *juan*; preface, 1579), compiled by Cheng Yizhi, a student (*zhusheng*).⁶⁰ The (29) *Shaowei Tongjian* (attributed to Jiang Zhi, Northern Song) is a summary of Sima Guang’s *Zizhi tongjian* (294 *juan*),⁶¹ a copy (30) of which text is also present. Consisting of only 7 volumes, it cannot have been a complete copy of it. Then follow two works by Zhang Juzheng, (31) *Tongjian zhijie* and (32) *Dijian tushuo* (in colloquial Chinese), both compiled in 1572 for the young Wanli emperor.⁶²

The next 8 titles (36 volumes and 2 boxes) might be called the section “literature and language”. Strikingly it opens with what must be an extract from the *Zhuzi yulei* (140 *juan*), Zhu Xi’s recorded sayings, viz. (34) *Zhuzi luyao*, compiled by Feng

428; 26.656; cf. Wang 1983, pp. 61a-b, 340a (preface of 1587 to a work by Jiao Hong), 656a. Li also revised and wrote a preface (1601) for the *Yueling guangyi* compiled by Feng Yingjing (1555-1606), which contains a version of the World Map by Matteo Ricci, with whom Feng was well acquainted (*DMB* 1141; Wang 1983, p. 181a). For Li Deng, see *Jinling tongzhuan*, 1904, compiled by Chen Zuolin; Taipei, 1970, 18.6b-7b.

⁵⁹ Notice that Chen Kui (1128-1203) based his *Wenze* (*Models of Literature*; reproduced in the *Siku quanshu*; *SKQSZM* 195.1787), both on the *Five Classics* and the writings by Mencius, Xunzi, Zhuangzi and Laozi, from which texts one could learn how to write in a proper style. Chen’s statement is quoted in the list of printing blocks of books published by the Imperial Academy in Nanking; see the *Nanyong zhi* (cf. note 55), 18.36a (vol. 4, p. 1479); cf. Grimm (note 44), p. 95.

⁶⁰ *QQ* 5.145; *SKQSZM* 46.416. For Cheng, see also *QQ* 25.662.

⁶¹ Editions of the *Zizhi tongjian* consist of e.g. 96 or 128 *ce* (1545) and 80 *ce* (1586); see *NCL* 139-140. For the *Shaowei Tongjian jiejao* and slightly different titles, see *QQ* 4.123; *SKQSZM* 48.432; Wang 1983, pp. 100-102. According to Wang Zhongmin this summary, attributed to Jiang Zhi (Zhenghe period, 1111-1117), was actually composed during the early fifteenth century.

⁶² For the *Tongjian zhijie* (16 vols.), see *QQ* 4.119 (25 or 28 *juan*). The *Dijian tushuo* was not divided into *juan* (*SKQSZM* 90.761), although Huang Yuji mentions 6 *juan* (*QQ* 11.313; cf. *DMB* 60b). The inventory mentions two copies, in all 3 volumes, but printed editions (1572, 1575) consisted of 6 or 12 *ce* (*NCL* 404; Wang 1983, p. 151b).

Yingjing.⁶³ The next title, (35) *Wenxuan jinzi*, part of the encyclopedia *Wenlin qixiu* (see above, no. 22), gives the finest sentences from the influential *Anthology of Literature* (early sixth century). The (35) *Gujin shishan*, compiled by the poet Li Panlong (1514-1570, *DMB* 845-847) and reproduced in the *Siku quanshu*, is an anthology of poetry from ancient times up to the Ming, except for the Song and Yuan (*SKQSZM* 189.1717). The next three works deal with rhymes: (36) Pan En (1496-1582), *Shiyun jilüe*; (37) Li Tingji (+1616), *Yunhai quanshu* and (38) Gong Daqi (1514-1596), *Gujin shiyun shiyi*.⁶⁴ Finally there follow the dictionaries (40) *Wuyin jiyun* and (41) *Wuyin pianhai*, compiled by Han Daozhao and his son Han Xiaoyan in the early thirteenth century, and at the time still the standard dictionaries. Given the number of volumes, both editions (in large format, *daban*) might well be copies of the 1589 reprints.⁶⁵

The next section (38 volumes) contains handbooks, popular encyclopedias and anthologies (42-49), as already shown by the titles, using terms like *wan* (10,000), *lin* (forest) and *gujin* (past and present). The fact that I could not identify five of the eight titles seems to confirm that we are dealing with popular encyclopedias, which were not regarded as literary products and therefore not found in contemporary bibliographies or lists of the holdings of collectors like Huang Yuji.⁶⁶ The eight titles in this section are arranged according to subject. The first two

⁶³ QQ 11.630 (15 *juan*); NB 171 (7 *ce*, preface of 1605). Cf. note 58.

⁶⁴ *Shiyun jilüe*, 5 vols.: QQ 3.97; Wang 1983, p. 69b (1569 edition, 5 *ce*); *Yunhai quanshu*, 2 vols.: NB 48 (Ming edition, 8 *ce*), NCL 88 (1595 edition, 14 *ce*); *Gujin shiyun shiyi*, 5 volumes: BT 194 (1581 edition, 4 *ce*; 1581 edition).

⁶⁵ *Wuyin jiyun* (7 vols.), cf. Wang 1983, p. 65: 7 *ce* (format: 27.5 x 18.3). *Wuyin pianhai* (5 vols.), cf. NB 52 (5 *ce*). The 1595 edition of the *Pianhai* has a large format (27.7 x 18.4), but consists of 7 *ce* (Wang 1983, p. 55). The edition of 1608 by Li Deng (cf. no. 26) consists of 10 *ce*.

⁶⁶ These 5 titles are not mentioned in a list of Ming encyclopedia (kept in the Harvard Yenching library) not recorded in the *Siku quanshu zongmu*, a list (nos. 66-111) compiled by Qiu Kaiming (a sequel to the above mentioned article [cf. note 57], which is a list [nos. 1-65] of those works that are recorded in the *Siku quanshu zongmu*): "Siku shishou Mingdai leishu kao", *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 2.1 (September 1969), pp. 43-58. These 5 titles are also absent in the (incomplete) list, compiled by Tadao Sakai, of popular encyclopedia (for this list see W. H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, Bloomington, 1986, p. 842 [sub: *T'ung-su lei-shu*]).

are related to household affairs: the (42) *Jiali yuexing* must be a kind of summary of Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* ⁶⁷ and the (43) *Wanquan bianlan* (Convenient Readings for Perfect Health) might well be a medical encyclopedia for use at home. ⁶⁸ The next six titles are related to literary learning. Like the (44) *Wanshu zhibao*, ⁶⁹ the (45) *Shuyan gushi* (2 copies, 10 volumes) is probably a schoolbook, compiled by Hu Jizong (Southern Song) and reprinted during the period 1589-1606 at least ten times. ⁷⁰ The (46) *Hanmo lin* (Forest of brush and ink) is an anonymous work (10 *juan*) and probably, like the *Hanmo daquan* (1307), ⁷¹ a collection of model letters, just as the next one, (47) *Fengjiao yunjian* (8 volumes), compiled by Huang Heqing, with a preface (1587) by the literatus Wang Shizhen (1526-1590), a collection (12 *juan*, 12 *ce*) of letters written by famous literati of the sixteenth century, such as Wang himself.⁷² The next two titles seem to be anthologies: (48) *Gujin mingyan zhaiyao* "Selection of famous sayings from past and present" and (49) *Caihan feilong* "Variegated brushes for achieving success (in the examinations)".

The last section (50-63; 61 volumes and 1 box) must be a kind of remnant category, including works on apparently military subjects (50, 54), and on music (52), private works by

⁶⁷ Cf. Huang Qin (tribute student of ca. 1514; *SKQSZM* 7.52), *Jiali yixing* (QQ 2.52).

⁶⁸ Wan Quan also happens to be the name of an author of medical works (QQ 14.382, 383, 384; Wang 1983, pp. 272b-273a).

⁶⁹ The title (2 vols., apparently a schoolbook or anthology) is quite close to *Wanbao quanshu* (1612 edition, 38 *juan*; cf. Qiu Kaiming [note 66], p. 57, nos. 108-109), but this was a general encyclopedia.

⁷⁰ *Shuyan gushi daquan* (10 *juan*): edition of 1589 in 5 *ce* (Wang 1983, p. 362b). Other editions (some in 12 *juan*): 1589, 1591, 1597, 1598, 1600 (3 times) and undated (Ming) in 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 or 12 *ce* (*BT* 1533, *NB* 298, *NCL* 626). For a description of this book (cf. QQ 15.421), see Qiu Kaiming (note 66), pp. 53-54 (no. 99, mentioning also an edition of 1606 in 8 *ce*); cf. Wang 1983, p. 363a.

⁷¹ See Tadao Sakai, "Confucianism and Popular Educational Works", in Wm. Th. de Bary ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York & London, 1970, (pp. 331- 366), p. 333.

⁷² For the *Hanmo lin*, see YWZ 1017 (Jiao Hong, *Guoshi jingji zhi*, 1590); it is possibly the same book as the one mentioned in the *Zhao Dingyu shumu* (cf. note 57, p. 91): *Jiqing Hanmo lin*, calligraphy by Yu Yunwen (1513-1579), a good friend of Wang Shizhen (MS 288.7390; Wang 1983, p. 626b). For the *Fengjiao yunjian* (4 *juan*; appendix, 4 *juan*; continuation, 4 *juan*), see Wang 1983, p. 480a.

contemporary authors (a kind of *bieji*) and reference works (62-63). It is quite difficult to describe them exactly as I could not identify four works (53-55, 61) and of some identified works (56-58) I am not able to give a description. The section is, however, not merely a remnant category. Notice that commentaries to classical works by contemporaries such as Zhang Juzheng (3), Lai Zhide (9, probably) and Li Deng (26) were not put in this section. The fact that the one by Huang Guoding (56) was, might well indicate it was less orthodox. This also applies to the book with the essential sayings of Luo Rufang (59), who belonged to the school of Wang Yangming. The sayings of Zhu Xi were instead placed in the section 'literature' (34). Therefore this section seems to have been reserved also for works, such as the *Joint Chronicle of the Three Teachings* (60) by Lin Zhao'en, which the Jesuits (or their teachers) regarded as not related to Confucianism proper.

The (50) *Rongshi leizhan* (2 copies, in all 3 volumes) is a work about military prognostication (21 *juan*), compiled by Li Kejia (fl. early Wanli period), and editions are preserved in 4, 5 and 12 *ce*.⁷³ Therefore the present two copies cannot have been complete. One can but wonder what kind of interest the missionaries might have had in a book, which the reviewers of the *Siku quanshu* thought to be full of such weird and erroneous statements that it should be forbidden by law (SKQSZM 110.938). The reason for having two incomplete copies might be that the preliminary chapter contains maps of the celestial constellations (*tianxiang*) and geo-astrological maps (*fenye*). The (51) *Da Ming guanzhi* (2 copies, in all 8 volumes), a guide book for officials (Huang Yuji, QQ 9.233, mentions two books with the same title, 28 and 5 *juan*).⁷⁴ The (52) *Wenmiao yue bian* (4 volumes), deals with music in the Confucius temple and

⁷³ QQ 13.355; SKQSZM 110.938; NB 244 (1597 edition, 5 *ce*); BT 1308 (two 1597 editions, 4 and 5 *ce*); NCL 515 (two 1597 editions, 6 and 12 *ce*); Wang 1983, p. 285b (Wanli edition, 12 *ce*).

⁷⁴ Administrative handbooks were not only compiled for use by officials, but also to inform others about questions of law and local administration (Grimm, p. 97). Possibly *Da Ming guanzhi* is the abridged title of *Da Ming guanzhi tianxia yudi shuilu chengxian beilan* (Ming edition, 17 *juan*, 4 *ce*; NB 139), a travel guide for officials, with maps and itineraries.

was compiled by Pan Luan.⁷⁵ It might have been placed in this section, because the veneration of Confucius was at least a problematic subject for the missionaries. The next three works I could not identify: (53) *Chenzi shiyou tongren*,⁷⁶ (54) *Lingxi bingzheng chao* (manuscript),⁷⁷ and (55) *Li Yang yigao* (apparently the posthumous writings of two persons). The (56) *Huang Jiushi Zhou Yi shuojie* (2 volumes) was composed by Huang Guoding (1556-1618).⁷⁸ The (57) *Qiao Bogui Yinqiao pian* (2 volumes) is a work by Qiao Yiqi (+1619),⁷⁹ an accomplished poet and calligrapher according to Huang Yuji, who mentions one of his works (2 *juan*): [] [] *pian* (section *bieji*, QQ 26.661, two blank spaces before *pian*), which might well refer to the *Yinqiao pian*. The (58) *Huantai sanbian* (4 volumes) was composed by Wang Zhiyuan (1527-1604).⁸⁰ The book, also entitled *Xingxin lou sanbian*, consists of three parts: *Baijing*

⁷⁵ A work in 2 *juan*, see QQ 2.56; MS 96.2361. For Pan Luan, see Morohashi 18236.100 (giving no dates). He lived around 1350 or possibly 1574, see Wang 1983, p. 226b (*Bianhuo bian*, collator).

⁷⁶ The work might deal with a concept in the philosophy of Chen Xianzhang (1428-1500), that of universal brotherhood; cf. Jen Yu-wen, "Ch'en Hsien-chang's Philosophy of the Natural", in *Self and Society* (cf. note 71), pp. 85-86 (pp. 53-92). Huang Yuji mentions a *Chenzi yanxing lu*, 12 *juan*, composed by He Weibo (QQ 10.272, 11.322), in which title 'Chenzi' must refer to Chen Xianzhang (cf. *Zhao Dingyu shumu* [note 57], p. 99: *Baisha yanxing lu*, 2 vols., compiler not mentioned). He Weibo (*jinshi* 1535), whose last office was President of Nanking Ministry of Rites (he retired in 1576), was a follower of Chen's philosophy, as testified by the contents of his collected works, *Tianshan caotang cungao* (see SKQSZM 177.1590).

⁷⁷ The only comparable title I could find is *Lingxi shuilu bingji*, compiled by Sheng Wannian (*jinshi* 1583). The *Siku quanshu zongmu* (100.845) reviews a reprint (1731) by a descendant of Sheng. It deals with military defence works against sea-pirates along the coast of Gaozhou Prefecture in Guangdong (some 300 km to the west of Macao). As this book consists of 2 *juan*, one wonders if the manuscript in 7 volumes refers to the same work; moreover, the title is not exactly the same.

⁷⁸ Courtesy name: *Jiushi*. The 1599 edition (6 *juan*) consisted of 3 *ce* (NB 4).

⁷⁹ Courtesy name: *Bogui*. He was a military *juren* (1573), who died in April 1619 when Chinese armies faced their first serious defeat by the Manchus; MS 247.6395, 6396; cf. DMB 967/68.

⁸⁰ In 1579 as governor of Huguang he was responsible for the death of He Xinyin, a thinker much admired by the 'arch-individualist' Li Zhi (1527-1602) and a friend of Luo Rufang (no. 59) and a former follower of Lin Zhao'en (no. 60), see DMB 513-515; Wm. Th. de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought", in *Self and Society* (cf. note 71), pp. 178-188 (pp. 145-247).

bian (2 *juan*), *Shesheng bian* and *Bingzhu bian* (both 1 *juan*).⁸¹ The (59) *Jinxi yuyao* (4 volumes) is an anthology of the essential sayings of Luo Rufang (1515-1588), an important member of the Taizhou school.⁸² The (60) *Sanjiao hui bian* (3 volumes) is a well known work (1562, 9 *juan*) of the advocate of the unity of the Three Teachings, Lin Zhao'en (1517- 1598).⁸³ The (61) *Chuxue dengtan* (2 volumes) I could not identify. The last two titles seem to have been used as reference works. The (62) *Jinshi lüli* (15 volumes) must be a collection of 15 lists, each list mentioning those who passed the *jinshi* examinations during a certain examination year with the dates of their birth, the names of their father, grandfather etc., and their subsequent career (*lüli*) up to the time the list was composed.⁸⁴ The (63) *Jiangning xianzhi*, in 4 volumes like the 1598 edition (YWZ 321), was edited by Li Deng (QQ 6.160, 10 *juan*), whom we have already met (no. 26).

As for the works in this last section (50-63), the Jesuits in Nanking seem to have shown some interest (for missionary reasons, I suppose) in contemporary thinkers such as Luo Rufang and Lin Zhao'en, although these few books are not entirely representative of late Ming thought. It is not clear,

The writings by He and accounts by contemporaries about him (in which Wang Zhiyuan is mentioned several times), were collected by Rong Zhaozu in *He Xinyin ji* (146 pp.; Peking 1960, 1981²), see especially pp. 145-146, where the relevant passage in Wang's *Lishi lu* is reproduced with comments by his great-grandson Wang Shizhen (1634-1711, *ECCP* 831-833); cf. *SKQSZM* 64.573). Wang Zhiyuan, father of Wang Xiangqian and Wang Xiangjin (*ECCP* 820, 821) should not be confused with a contemporary having the same name: Wang Zhiyuan (1541-1610, *DMB* 1385a), grandson of Wang Gen (1483-1541), one of the founders of the Taizhou school, to which also He Xinyin belonged.

⁸¹ QQ 12.327 (the inventory apparently misread *san* as *yan*). Huang Yuji does not give further information about the author. That these three essays were written not by Wang Zhiyuan, the grandson of Wang Gen, but by Wang Zhiyuan, the father of Wang Xiangqian, is confirmed by the fact that these three texts are mentioned (without the collective title *Huantai sanbian* or *Xingxin lou sanbian* and without further description) in Wang's biography (*Wang zuo situ jiazhuan*), composed by Li Weizhen (1547-1626); see his *Dabi shanfang ji*, *juan* 66 (ff. 1a-5a), f. 4b9: *Shesheng Bingzhu Baijing zhubian*.

⁸² NCL 446: *Luo Jinxi xiansheng yuyao* (2 *juan*, 2 *ce*), 1600 edition, compiled by Tao Wangling (*DMB* 272b). Cf. QQ 11.306; *Jinxi jiyu*, 12 *juan*; *DMB* 978a.

⁸³ QQ 16.430. Cf. J.A. Berling, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*, New York, 1980, pp. 80, 200-204, 251. In this book Lin favoured the philosophy of Lu Xiangshan (o.c., p. 203).

⁸⁴ Cf. Shao (note 51), p. 258; *NB* 93.

however, if they really consulted these works. One wonders if some of these books were recommended or donated by visitors to the Nanking house. As for possible traces of these writings in missionary writings, one should not forget that all these books were confiscated in 1617. A question that arises is whether the writings by, for example, Alfonso Vagnone, later a prolific author in Chinese (mainly during the thirties), might still show some traces of consultation of these texts. In 1616, however, he had only published an explanation of the Catechism (*Jiaoyao jielüe*, 1615; see above).

The Jesuits who stayed in the Nanking house up to 1616 must have all still been students of Chinese, at least as regards writing in Chinese. Newly arrived missionaries were sent to Nanking in order to learn the language (Kelly 23). The Jesuit library in Nanking appears not to have been primarily a scholars' library (too many scholarly works are missing), but mainly a student's library (for some 80%, the half of which is covered by the Confucian Classics and the commentaries to be learned by examination candidates). As the missionaries were still students of Chinese, it is unlikely that they themselves selected the books. Their teacher of Chinese, the convert Philip, was a *xiuca*i and, although not living in the house (and therefore not arrested), Shen Que deprived him of his degree, because he had taught the foreigners Chinese (*Annual Letter* of 1617, p. 194; Kelly 58). It could well be that the books represent mainly his choice (or of earlier teachers) and therefore, in addition to the interest which this list of books has for the history of the late Ming Jesuit mission, the library might well be an example of a late Ming school-library, as it is likely that Philip brought into the residence the books he had used himself. Nevertheless, it cannot be completely representative of a school-library, because comparison with preserved relevant lists of Ming times shows that several important works are missing, such as Imperial admonitions, morality books, or books about science.⁸⁵ But in this respect one might say that the missionaries 'replaced' these kind of books with Chinese

⁸⁵ For the considerable number of books on scientific subjects, see Grimm, p. 94. As for the moral tracts, not all of them were strictly Neo-Confucian and ample use was made of examples from the lives of virtuous Buddhists and Taoists to illustrate how profitable the practice of certain virtues was (Grimm,

books on western science, philosophy and morality (nos. 65-77, 96-102), based on the western books they had brought with them and of which there were quite a number in their house (nos. 103, 123, 125-127).

pp. 97, 98). Of a list of 15 books, found in a number of school-libraries (Grimm, p. 99), several are absent in the Nanking Jesuit library. Notice, however, that for Ming times a relatively small number of such lists is preserved (in contradistinction with the Qing dynasty); Grimm, pp. 93-94.

FROM N. LONGOBARDO'S EXPLANATION OF EARTHQUAKES AS DIVINE PUNISHMENT TO F. VERBIEST'S SYSTEMATIC INSTRUMENTAL OBSERVATIONS. THE EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN SCIENCE IN CHINA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Isaia Iannaccone

1. *Introduction*

The seventeenth century is crucial for the history of science. In fact Galilei's discoveries broke open Aristotle's scientific frame. In the study of natural phenomena, the experimental method of testing hypotheses became very popular; the hypotheses, together with the results of empirical observations, were then codified in mathematical terms that thus became a universal communication system.

In the seventeenth century also European science came into contact with Chinese science. Through some Jesuit missionaries, technical and scientific discoveries of the European Renaissance were spread in China where their methodological validity was confirmed and their limits stressed.

The crucial factors that favoured the contact between the scientific cultures of Europe and China (rather than between the religious and ideological cultures) were the following:

- importance attached in China to astronomy as a State science;¹
- reinforcement of the missionary strategy set by Matteo Ricci;²
- presence in China of distinguished Jesuit scientists;
- mediation of Chinese men of letters who, educated by the

¹ I. Iannaccone, *Misurare il cielo: l'antica astronomia cinese*, Napoli, 1991, ch.1.

² P. D'Elia, "Galileo in Cina. Relazioni attraverso il Collegio Romano tra Galileo e i Gesuiti scienziati missionari in Cina (1610-1640)", *Analecta Gregoriana* 37, Series Facultatis Missiologicae, sectio A (no. 1), Roma, 1947.

missionaries, were bearers both of local scientific traditions and of European innovations.³

In our previous works some aspects of the Jesuits' scientific achievements in China in the seventeenth century were underlined. Here is a summary of some of them:

1) Matteo Ricci, his fellow Jesuits and those immediately after him (in particular Diego Pantoja, Niccolò Longobardo, Sabatino de Ursis, Giulio Aleni, Francesco Sambiasi, Peter Van Spiere) were neither mathematicians nor astronomers in the strict sense of the word;⁴

2) it was in the generation after Ricci that the Jesuit scientists came, and the most meaningful scholars of that period are: Johann Schreck (Terrentius), Giacomo Rho, Johann Adam Schall von Bell, and immediately afterwards, Ferdinand Verbiest;⁵

3) these missionaries were mainly concerned with scientific work, almost to the complete exclusion of their evangelisation work (Schreck in particular);⁶

4) as an indicator of the predominance of the scientific work compared to the religious, reference can be made to the percentage of Chinese written publications devoted to science compared to the number of religious publications: Schreck 100%, Rho 95%, Schall von Bell 98%,⁷ G. Verbiest 86%;⁸

5) Another indicator, corroborating point 3, is the huge commitment devoted by scientists to the manufacturing of

³ K. Hashimoto, *Hsu Kuang-ch'i and Astronomical Reform. The Process of Chinese Acceptance of Western Astronomy 1629-1635*, Osaka, 1987.

⁴ I. Iannaccone, "Le fasi della divulgazione della scienza europea nella Cina del XVII secolo", F. D'Arelli, A. Tamburello ed., *La missione cattolica in Cina tra i secoli XVII-XVIII. Emiliano Palladini (1733-1793)*, Napoli, 1995, p. 64.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ I. Iannaccone, "Johann Schreck (Terrentius): scienziato, gesuita e missionario nell'impero dei Ming", *Asia Orientale* 5/6 (1987), pp. 49-85.

⁷ I. Iannaccone, "One step of European Renaissance Trigonometry in Late Ming China: the 'Ge Yuan Ba Xian Biao' (Trigonometric Tables) and some remarks about J.A. Schall von Bell - G. Rho - J. Schreck scientific Collaboration", paper presented at the *International Symposium on the Occasion of the 400th Anniversary of the Birth of Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1522-1666)*, Sankt Augustin (Germany), May 1992, to be printed in *Monumenta Serica*.

⁸ I. Iannaccone, "Un'ipotesi sull' 'Yixiang Tu' ed il 'Liber Organicus...' di Ferdinand Verbiest", *Asia Orientale* 7/8 (1988), pp. 29-38.

instruments and promoting their use as a necessary tool to conduct scientific studies.

6) though not all their teaching was free from error, the above-mentioned Jesuit scientists were eager to propagate the latest scientific formulations (for instance Tycho Brahe's theory, logarithmic calculus, thermometry).

2. *Stages of Scientific Dissemination*

Dissemination of European science in China by Jesuits in the seventeenth century can be summarised in four stages, denoting the increasing scientific typology of their mission. Each stage is characterised by meaningful bibliographic productions that bear witness to their increasing and almost exclusive commitment to experimental sciences.

The stages are the following:

1) Introduction.

From the beginning of the century to 1615. This stage is mainly characterised by Matteo Ricci's activity that will affect this period even after his death (1610). During this period missionaries are mainly concerned with evangelisation; however, having realised that scientific popularisation could provide them with some benefits at Court, they decide to devote themselves to it, each of them in his own specific field. Religious and scientific proselytism are jointly performed. Amongst Chinese scholars educated by Jesuits, the most important were: Li Zhizao (1565-1630) and Xu Guangqi (1562-1633). The scientific work of this period is somewhat incoherent: many topics are analysed without a clear-cut guideline; in the works written in Chinese and dealing with science many doctrinaire considerations can be found. Amongst the most meaningful texts we can mention:

- *Kunyu wanguo quantu* (World-map) by Matteo Ricci, 1602;

- *Jihe yuanben* (Elements of geometry) by Matteo Ricci, 1607; this book is the translation of the first 6 volumes of the *Elements of Geometry* by Euclid;

- *Hungai tongxian tushuo* (Illustrated manual on the astrolabe and the sphere) by Matteo Ricci, 1607; it is the translation of the *Astrolabium* by Cristoforo Clavio;

- *Taixi shuifa* (Western hydraulics) by Sabatino de Ursis, 1612, in which buoyant force is also illustrated;

- *Tianwen liie* (Astronomy issues) by Emanuele Diaz, 1615; it is the first Chinese book dealing with Galileo's findings and telescope. This book, announcing astronomical discoveries, falls between the end of the first stage and the beginning of the second stage.

2) Consolidation.

From 1615 to 1623, when J. Schreck arrived in Peking. Evangelisation still continues but is not predominant. Scientific works are mainly concerned with geography or general topics from western culture; bibliographic production, as to the topics dealt with, seems more coherent compared to the previous period and is still viewed as a tool to introduce religion. Amongst the most meaningful works there are:

- *Xixue fan* (General notions on western science) by Giulio Aleni, 1623. In this text, Aleni summarises the content of the many books brought into China by Trigault's mission;⁹ the first part of the book deals with Literature, Philosophy (in which Physics, Mathematics and Astronomy are also included), Medicine, Law, Ecclesiastical Law, Theology. The section dealing with Theology is quite large as the author dwells upon doctrinal explanations;

- *Zhifang waiji* (Record of the places outside the jurisdiction of the Office of Geography), by Giulio Aleni, 1623; it includes a

⁹ As is well known, Giulio Aleni, Francesco Sambiasi and Peter van Spiere arrived in China in 1610, after the repeated requests of Matteo Ricci to his superiors to have astronomer missionaries. Further requests for scientific personnel were also made by Sabatino De Ursis (September 20th 1610, in a letter addressed to the Assistant Father General of the Society of Jesus) and Niccolò Longobardo (November 23rd 1610 and October 15th 1612 in two letters addressed to the Father General). At the end of 1612, Longobardo decided to send the young Belgian missionary Nicolas Trigault to Rome to inform the Pope of the mission's needs. Trigault left for Europe and made well-organised preparations, at the end of which he went back to China with a large amount of bibliographical materials and instruments, together with a group of scholars including J. Schreck, G. Rho and J. A. Schall von Bell. The number of books brought by Trigault into China is still not certain. Trigault maintains the books were 5000, including 757 bound books (in a memorandum to Pope Paul V), H. Bernard-Maitre counted 629, including 757 bound books, Chinese sources speak of 7000 books (cf. *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang*, Peking, 1949, pp. VIII).

description of the geography known at that time, together with the inhabitants' characteristics; it includes some maps as well.

3) Taking Roots.

From J. Schreck's arrival in Peking (1623) to September 1st 1626, when the calendar rectification is officially assigned to Jesuits. Schreck's presence in Peking increases the scientific work. This Renaissance scientist - member of the Accademia dei Lincei, Galilei's friend, Jesuit and missionary in China whose religious work is not proved by any evidence - worked in China and in Europe and his interest was exclusively focused on science. His texts cover many subjects (astronomy, mathematics, physics, medicine). His fellow Jesuits, too, are enthusiastic scientists; in this period scholars such as Longobardo and Aleni publish most of their scientific books, while Giacomo Rho and Johann Adam Schall von Bell are very active. Bibliographic production is high but a dissemination strategy has not yet been defined. The percentage of scientific texts increases, compared to the religious ones, but, in the latter, some doctrinal considerations are still included. Amongst the major texts, mention can be made of:

- *Taixi renshen shuogai* (Western theories on the human body) by Schreck, 1626; this work was only published by Schall in 1643. It includes two sections: the former concerning bones, nerves, skin, fat, flesh and blood; the latter senses and movements;

- *Dizhen jie* (Interpretation of earthquakes) by N. Longobardo, 1626. After a technical dissertation on earthquakes, as to their cause, classification, affected areas, related noises, forecasts, duration and preceding phenomena, in the last part the author declares, apocalyptically, that seismic phenomena, as well as rain, drought, revolts and fire, are nothing else but God's punishment on people "not cultivating their moral nature". This is an example of how Jesuits, in this stage, keep on using science to appeal to individuals' conscience.

4) Propagation.

On September 1st 1626, Jesuits are officially assigned by the emperor the task of rectifying the calendar. It is the beginning of scientific works prevailing over religious ones and

science becomes free of any doctrinal reference. Pure science resorts to instrumental observation to study phenomena in order to forecast and explain them through systematic use of mathematics. While the first three stages are typified by the unofficial nature of the Jesuits' scientific work, in this stage it becomes an official activity supported by the State. Without stint of men and means, an organic plan to achieve the following targets is drawn:

a) writing of an encyclopaedic work including all the most up-to-date astronomic knowledge;

b) illustration of theories on planets, stars and eclipses together with a forecasting computation method;

c) writing of numerical tables and easy-to-read mathematics manuals to support astronomic computations;

d) manufacturing of devices and tools to facilitate scientific work.

- *Qiqi tushuo* (Illustrated manual of strange tools) by J. Schreck, 1626. This book introduces principles of some machines for motion transmission, weight lifting, transportation. It includes about sixty pictures and their relevant explanations;

- *Cetian yue shuo* (Principles to measure the sky) by J. Schreck, 1682. The text is divided into two sections: the former deals with Equator and Horizon; the latter with the orbit of planets, Sun, Moon and fixed stars. Galilei's findings, telescopes to watch sunspots are described, but no mention is made of the man from Pisa;

- *Da ce* (Big measure) by J. Schreck and J. A. Schall von Bell, 1631;

- *Chongzhen lishu* (Treatise on the calendar science in the reign of Chongzhen), 1635. In this encyclopaedia almost all scientific texts by Jesuits are included. Amongst them, the important book *Chousuan* (Calculus) by Giacomo Rho (1628), illustrating the logarithmic calculus proposed by Briggs in his *Arithmetica Logarithmica* of 1616, a book brought by Jesuits into China with Trigault's mission, together with other very recent findings. *Chongzhen lishu* includes also the text *Yuanjing shuo* (The glass that can see far away) by J. A. Schall von Bell (1626). This book is particularly important as it is the first treatise written in Chinese and dealing only with the telescope; it includes pictures of the telescope and of some constellations,

but Galilei is never mentioned;

- *Yanqi tushuo* (Illustrated manual for examining the *qi*) by F. Verbiest, 1671. The author introduces the thermometer into China, imitating the most up-dated European models (Otto Guericke's model), that he might have seen before leaving for China (1657). Moreover, the notion of temperature, still under investigation and speculation in Europe, is translated by Verbiest into Qi, one of the cosmic principles of Chinese thought;¹⁰

- *Xin zhi lingtai yixiang zhi* (Description and theory of instruments) by F. Verbiest, 1673. It is a complex manual explaining the theory underlying the use and manufacture of the 6 bronze tools the Author was making for the Peking observatory. This book is closely related to the next one;

- *Yixiang tu* (Drawing of the instruments) by F. Verbiest, 1673. It includes a short preface in Chinese and 105 engravings illustrating in detail the manufacturing and use of astronomic tools;

- *Kunyu tushuo* (Cosmography) by F. Verbiest, 1674. This work is remarkable both for its contents (geographic and naturalistic subjects) and for its pictures, 23 of which depict animals (real or mythical) with their relevant explanation. It is inspired by *Zhifang waiji* (the preface of which it reproduces).

The list of texts through which we have typified the four stages of the introduction of European science into China in the seventeenth century is rich with historiographic hints. These books can somehow be viewed as those that caused an upheaval in the Chinese scientific world, and their date of publication mirrors the evolution of the scientific mentality simultaneously taking place in Europe.

3. *Evolution of the Scientific Mentality in the Jesuits' Work in China*

The theoretical and empirical changes implemented by those who - in that century and in Europe - were concerned

¹⁰ I. Iannaccone, G. Merchionne, "La termometria europea rinascimentale nella Cina del XVII secolo: lo 'Yanqi Tushuo' di Ferdinand Verbiest", F. Bevilacqua ed., *Atti del X Congresso Nazionale di Storia della Fisica*, Milano, 1989, pp. 239-256.

with science are basically the following ¹¹:

- science free of any anthropomorphous content;
- science free of the earlier philosophies;
- link between science and technique; interchange between theory and praxis;
- knowledge rearrangement on crucial issues;
- nature mathematicisation;

These are the “modern” features of Galilei’s work representing the European cultural revolution.

In China, the building of these “modern” scientific features can be traced in the Jesuits’ texts. In fact, in the significant works of the stages that characterise the spread of European science in China, a major evolution as to forms and contents can be found, together with features that favoured their propagation; such as:

- introduction of science in an objective manner and progressive disappearance of religious features;
- high exploitation of scientific tools as means of investigation;
- introduction of theories through observation of real problems, not through dogmas;
- high resort to mathematics in studying natural phenomena.

The new scientific attitude of the Jesuit missionary scientists in China can be ascribed to their education in Europe in a period of major cultural changes and of protagonism of modern science. Moreover, contact with the Chinese pragmatic scientific methodology enriched their view of the world and of the systems to investigate it (the most meaningful example is reasoning by problem and not from dogmas).

The Chinese missionary texts show a progressive decline of evangelisation in favour of an increasing scientific commitment. In scientific books, doctrinal considerations decline and the name of God gradually disappears completely. With reference to this, two examples are *Dizhen jie* by N. Longobardo, where science is propagated together with

¹¹ I. Iannaccone, G. Arpaia, “Galileo e il sinocentrismo: introduzione delle scoperte galileiane e del telescopio nella Cina del XVII secolo”, F. Bevilacqua ed., *Atti del VII Congresso Nazionale di Storia della Fisica*, Milano, 1987, p. 225.

religious considerations, and *Yixiang zhi* by F. Verbiest, illustrating a fully laic science.

4. *Earthquakes as God's Punishment in Dizhen jie* by Niccolò Longobardo (1626)

Niccolò Longobardo (Long Huamin) published *Dizhen jie* (Interpretation of earthquakes) in 1626. Longobardo, born at Caltagirone (Sicily) in 1559, arrived in China in 1579. He is said to have been very sensitive to seismic phenomena, so frequent in the East. In fact, his own home-town had been completely destroyed by an earthquake on December 10th 1542 and, since ancient times, the whole Sicilian region had been under observation from the seismic stand point (Archimedes, Empedocles, Gorgia). Moreover, an earthquake had occurred in 1626 in the surrounding area of Peking, and the missionaries had felt the need to deal also with this scientific field (in addition to mathematics and astronomy). Longobardo - heir of the southern culture so concerned with earthquakes, and representative of the Renaissance scientific culture - was the most suitable man of his time to speak about earthquakes. His work, however, in spite of its scientific relevance, has an unscientific conclusion.

A short introduction is followed by nine chapters:

- I : Causes of earthquakes
- II : Classification of earthquakes
- III : Areas affected by earthquakes
- IV : Seismic noises
- V : Extensiveness of earthquake-involved areas
- VI : Earthquake occurrence time
- VII : Earthquake duration
- VIII : Phenomena preceding earthquakes
- IX : Earthquake related phenomena

The complete translation of the work will be presented on another occasion; here we shall refer only to the introduction in which a person, named Li Songyu, addresses Longobardo and, after congratulating him on his ability in predicting an eclipse, says that he is sure that the missionary can predict earthquakes as well; he says:

“.....Should an earthquake occur suddenly, we would be unprepared and scared as we do not know the underlying causes.....Please, explain its mystery.”¹²

Longobardo replies he has carried out a study that can be summarised in nine points (i.e. the nine chapters)¹³. From the very first lines dealing with the causes of earthquakes, it is clear the Jesuit's intent is to speak of the subject without any bias:

“According to an old Chinese saying, earthquakes are caused by the dragon of the currents, or by a big turtle, both moving underground or in the sea. This is just an imaginary saying that does not (even) deserve confutation. As a matter of fact, earthquakes are caused by gas moving underground.....as it cannot come out, it moves forwards, backwards or rotates and goes upwards, thus giving rise to earthquake and noise.”¹⁴

The treatise that follows is a rational description of data and theories; Longobardo's primary source is the Second Book of *Metereologica* by Aristotle. The Greek philosopher is mentioned as well as his theories (“...earthquakes occur because of three causes (inherent) in the underground: gas, fire and wind...”)¹⁵ and his classification of earthquakes into two types (“...oscillating.....and rumbling....”).¹⁶ Longobardo also illustrates some interesting Renaissance knowledge on earthquakes. Specifically, we would like to mention those related to the preceding phenomena that still play a major role in the forecasting field:

“...1) Sometimes well water becomes muddy...; 2) ...well water ripples...; 3) Sea is tided but not windy...; 4)... sky is clear...; 5)... a seismic cloud may loom up in full daylight or after sunset...; 6)...suddenly, it gets chilly in summertime...”¹⁷

However, with reference to the dissemination of European science in China in the seventeenth century, we would like to mention the last part of the *Dizhen jie* which shows clearly that Longobardo, still involved in a dogma-bound science, cannot be viewed as a scientist, at least in the modern sense of the term:

¹² N. Longobardo (Long Huamin), *Dizhen jie*, f. 1r.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 1r-v.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 2r.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 3v.

"Why are human beings affected by the calamity (of the earthquakes) and suffer from it? Although earthquakes are caused by Gas, it is the Lord that makes gas-producing earthquakes. It is true that He is always the giver of good things, but there are more bad people than good and honest people. God (however) does not destroy them without warning; so He makes the gas showing its effects, and earthquakes are a warning for those who (in this way) fear their previous actions. That is, earthquakes...."¹⁸

5. *Instrumental Praxis in Ferdinand Verbiest and Consolidation of the Experimental Method in China*

Another author, another style, another stage of scientific dissemination. Undoubtedly, F. Verbiest is the Jesuit scientist who most strongly believes in the instrumental praxis for research. In our earlier works this aspect was emphasised and the high commitment of the Belgian missionary in spreading instruments in China was stressed. Tools were also supplemented with explanatory manuals so as to allow their manufacturing and rational use.¹⁹ These tools were made not to astonish, but to build a scientific framework within the study of natural phenomena. We want to corroborate Verbiest's attitude by stressing the total lack of ideological "contaminations" in his scientific texts in Chinese, a fact with which he used to taunt his political opponents. All this is clear from *Yixiang zhi*'s introduction.

It includes five pages and is accurately formalised being a document sent to the emperor; all references to the emperor are then written at the top of each column and out of the general lay-out. Starting from Chinese tradition, Verbiest emphasises the importance of the calendar's accuracy and how it can be obtained thorough the use of instruments. In stating the relevance of the instrumental praxis, he makes reference to the mythical sovereigns Yao and Shun, to the first emperor Qin

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, ff. 4v, 5r.

¹⁹ I. Iannaccone, "Un'ipotesi...". I. Iannaccone, G. Merchionne, "La termometria europea..."

Shihuang and to the Han. During their reign the partial use of instruments led to the compilation of calendars to be changed over time. On the contrary, Verbiest - in stressing the importance of testing hypotheses through instruments - states that the accuracy of his Shixian calendar is guaranteed by the instruments made by him for the Peking observatory.²⁰ Thus he attacks those who, in the past, had tried to discredit him without any scientific foundation, but only out of prejudice. These attacks, he adds, brought about confusion in the political field as well. The text self-extols its function: it is necessary, the author says, to print and spread many copies of it to enrich the knowledge of technicians and officials. At the end of the introduction he mentions his collaborators and asks the emperor to praise them for their commitment.

This is the introduction of the *Yixiang zhi*:

“Ferdinand Verbiest, official of the Astronomy Office, the body committed to the compilation of the Calendar, respectfully and humbly submits the report on the instruments invented by him to our emperor.

For our great emperor, I will describe the tools, books and tables so as (to contribute) to the development of the Country’s institutional affairs. I believe that, in drawing up the calendar, past emperors aimed to regulate the *Tian yun*, set the *Sui gong* and regulate the *Xuan he qi*. This, in order to lay the political and moral foundations and make (the calendar) the most important factor in ruling the Country. We are told that Yao used to tell Xi He that emperors must be compared to Heaven, Then mankind, through the calendar that is the representation of Moon, Sun and Stars, acquired the knowledge of Time. At the beginning of Shun’s period, the straight horizontal axis was used to watch the positions of the seven celestial bodies. In fact, he thought that nothing was more important than setting the Time clearly. For this purpose, celestial bodies had to be observed and, to do this, proper tools had to be built first. All this can

²⁰ Simple ecliptic armillary sphere (*Huangdao jing wei yi*), simple equatorial armillary sphere (*Chidao jing wei yi*), celestial globe (*Tianti yi*), horizon circle for azimuth measures (*Diping jing yi*), sextant (*Ji xian yi*), quadrant (*Xiang xian yi*).

be found in "Yu Shu". Later on, the old tools were all destroyed during the Qin fire.

From the Western Han's dynasty until today, the calendar has been changed seventy times; there were more than thirteen schools entrusted with its compilation, but only few of them were able to manufacture tools. Even though the instruments did exist, some of them were made to (be used) for a (given) period of time and, thus, they could not be (used) for a longer period. Some of them were made only for a (specific) observation, thus they could not be used for other types of observations. Making tools matching celestial movements is very hard.

When our Qing empire was prosperous, the rules (for drawing up) the calendar were in our hands. Thus, the dates of the beginning and of the end of the months were correct and the new (calendar) was easily used; its name was *Shixian*. Authorities promulgated it all over the Country and it worked well as it reflected the laws of nature. Then, minister Tang Ruocheng, who had rectified the calendar, was praised by the emperor who ordered it to be preserved in a museum. For this reason we know what his new calendar was like. But, although (this) calendar was in use for a long time, no instrument was designed.

In the fourth year of Kangxi's reign, some shameless men brought about confusion in *Changxian's* calendar and made an improper use of it. During these four years, the theory (that explained) the rules of nature was damaged together with the calendar. Fortunately, our great emperor, thanks to his supreme intelligence, has clearly understood that my calculations were correct, (that is) in agreement with the laws of nature and decided to use the *Shi Xian* calendar again.

After a discussion at the Drawing Office, the decision was made to make new apparatus to be installed as soon as possible in compliance with Nan Huai ren's drawing and under the supervision of the Drawing Office. The emperor asked me to oversee the project with (all) my intelligence. I am working heartily and efficiently, as well as the supervisors.

Now that the project is over, all instruments will be installed in the observatory (to stay there for ever). From now

on, then, all instruments can be used simultaneously and we shall be able to compare the results (achieved) through the different instruments. Then, they will help us to live in harmony with the laws of nature.

The major authors of the calendar are Li, Shu, Xiang and Qi. If a Li calendar is not clear, (the calendar) is wrong because (Li) makes Shu clear and (as) Shu changes according to Xiang, Xiang, in its turn, needs Qi to be corrected. Now, these instruments are really Qi and they include Li, Shu and Xiang (principles).

There are manufacturing, usage, installation and working rules for all instruments. Should their rules not be explained, no one but myself would know them. Then, how could we disseminate the knowledge of the instruments and make them be used for ever? That is the reason why I have been studying hard and I have achieved a good knowledge. I illustrated my opinions, sectioned each single part and explained it in detail also by means of pictures. In making these explanations and illustrations, I wrote sixteen volumes entitled "Explanation of the New Astronomical Instruments installed in the Observatory".

I would like all officials specifically concerned with this (astronomical) task to understand, through their own minds, the use and control of these tools. Moreover, I hope to hand this book down to posterity to be consulted by future scholars. I wrote (the book) for this reason; the emperor entrusted me with drawing up the calendar, and I devoted myself to this task. The imperial purpose is to provide new knowledge, day after day; then, the whole debate on Xiang and Shu is aimed at drawing up the calendar and defining Time. Through our emperor, the calendar will mark Time.

Respectfully, I wrote and submitted my work to the emperor. Now, I have a request. Clearly, this book does not include any formula, number, picture and table, but they are too many to fit in a closed space. Copying and reproducing pictures is hard if the matrices of the printing are unsatisfactory; then, the copies would not be handed down to future generations. Consequently, I asked my emperor to give me (good) matrices for printing, so as to (make) and distribute copies (of the book) to the Court

officials. By so doing, all those committed to this (astronomical) task will have the book and surely be satisfied with it.

As to the people involved with me in performing this task, they have all been working wisely and efficiently. I hope the emperor will appreciate their work, praise and encourage them, as praising and encouraging is the way for the emperor to rule his Country properly.

I wrote a book on the calendar and the words are too many, more than I intended at first; but, if my book is noteworthy, then I beg our emperor to put it to use.

I wrote this book scrupulously and humbly and I submitted it to the emperor. I am nobody but a humble official, without any ability to write this book, and submitted it personally to the emperor. The twenty-ninth day of the first month of the thirteenth year of Kangxi's reign and the third day of the second month, I received an answer by the emperor. According to the report, all instruments are finished and they are very accurate.

Nan Huairen committed himself heartily and efficiently to this work, then he is highly worth praising. He submitted the book and the other things to the ministry and handed over the book and the illustrations."

6. *Conclusion*

During the seventeenth century, the Jesuits who arrived in China aimed single-mindedly at the evangelisation of the country. They used any means to achieve their purpose, assigning priority to the scientific work appreciated by the Chinese people.

Historians of Chinese science usually hold the missionaries responsible for importing an obsolete science into the country. It is an ungenerous criticism, above all if we take into account the work of the four major scientists J. Schreck, J.A. Schall van Bell, G. Rho and F. Verbiest. Whatever can be said about their education (not purely scientific, in many people's opinion), whatever the considerations about their production of science as representatives of a power that in Europe had silenced Galileo Galilei, we think that an unbiased judgement of their

work should allow for the following factors:

1) Tycho Brahe's theory, disseminated all over China, even though less correct, was used in Europe and was far more up-to-date than Copernico's.

2) Ecliptic coordinates, used by Jesuits, are more useful than the equatorial coordinates for the calendar calculations concerning the planets' movement in our solar system; in fact they are still in use today.

3) The mathematical praxis, necessary to study and process observation data, was the most advanced procedure being used at the time.

4) Both theoretical tools (e.g. Briggs's logarithmic arithmetic) and technological tools (e.g. telescope, thermometer, hygrometer) were imported without delay into China. The case of the thermometer is emblematic: when Verbiest illustrated it to the Chinese people, the notion of "temperature" was not yet clear in Europe, and the name of the inventor of the thermometer was still controversial.

FROM CLAVIUS TO PARDIES:
THE GEOMETRY TRANSMITTED TO CHINA BY JESUITS
(1607-1723) *

Catherine Jami

In discussing the reception of European culture in late imperial China, it is convenient to oppose two entities: China and the West.¹ Following this line, the confrontation between two different civilisations brought about by the Jesuit missionary enterprise from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century might be expected to reveal the main oppositions and also some points of convergence between the two, and therefore to throw light on some of their general features. However this approach entails some risks. Thus in contrasting the two cultures, one should be guarded against ahistorical assessments that generalise temporary features into characteristics valid throughout history. Can one infer anything concerning ancient Greek and ancient Chinese science from the analysis of contacts between Jesuit missionaries and late Ming and early Qing scholars? Another risk is to reinforce the tendency to assess other cultures by western standards, and to come out with just another set of negative characterisations of China. What do we learn from making statements of the obvious such as: China did not develop Christian religion - or Euclidian geometry - and then starting from features of these, trying to trace their presence - or absence - in China ?

Let us go further: by the phrase “Europe in China”, we are referring to a phenomenon that lasted for more than a century.

* The author wishes to thank Antonella Romano and Alexei Volkov for their comments on an earlier version of this paper, and Bridie Andrews for correcting the English.

¹ Late Ming and early Qing scholars used the term “West” (*Xiyang*, *Xifang*...) to refer to Europe. It will therefore be used here, although the ways in which this notion has been constructed over the last 150 years and its uses nowadays are highly problematic. In the case of the history of mathematics, the Arabic and Hebrew traditions developed since the eighth century A.D. were an integral part of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European heritage.

If one attempts to conceptualise the two entities, Europe and China, separately, one cannot but be struck by the changes they both underwent during the period in question. So that in order to understand, for example, the reception of European mathematics and astronomy in China, one should first make clear what these were exactly: that is, what was it exactly that the Jesuits made available to Chinese scholars at the different stages of their presence ? This is the question I intend to tackle in the present paper, in the case of Euclidian geometry by means of a tentative consideration of some of its aspects. Such a discussion is a prerequisite to any analysis of “Chinese reception”. At the other end, the backgrounds and interpretations of recipients also need to be studied in a differential way. This will be the subject of further research, outside the scope of the present paper.

With the rise of twentieth-century mathematics, Euclid's *Elements of geometry* have come to be regarded as the precursor *par excellence* of the axiomatic and deductive style dominant in contemporary mathematics. Again, such a view entails a risk: geometry may too easily be taken as the epitome, the essence, of “western mathematics”. The important variations in the book's avatars along more than two millennia of history should not be overlooked. In order to discuss precisely evidenced historical situations rather than quick generalisations, it is necessary to establish the different forms in which Euclidian geometry was introduced to the Chinese, and to assess its status in Europe at the time, and more precisely, in Jesuit learning and education.² However, our main purpose here is to contribute to a clarification of what it was exactly that Chinese scholars had access to, and to which we refer by the general term “Euclidian geometry”. This implies that we examine the various geometrical treatises written by Jesuits in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China, temporarily putting aside the importance of the Euclidian text in Europe, in order to assess these treatises' importance according to their influence in China, as well as to their significance in Europe.

² P. Engelfriet, “The Chinese Euclid and its European context”, in C. Jami & H. Delahaye eds., *L'Europe en Chine. Interactions scientifiques, religieuses et culturelles aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1993, pp. 111-135, has done this for Clavius' work as partially translated by Ricci and Xu Guangqi.

The present state of knowledge on mathematics as it was taught and practised in various Jesuit colleges in Europe³ does not permit us to establish the background of all missionaries as precisely as for those who, like Ricci, studied at the Collegio Romano with Clavius (1537-1612). However, the study of their Chinese treatises dealing with geometry may reveal different styles and forms for the transmission of this discipline. It remains to be seen how they relate to their authors' training.

The dates mentioned in the title correspond respectively to the first and to the last geometrical treatise based on European sources. The Chinese translation of the first six books of Clavius' edition of Euclid's *Elements*⁴ - by Ricci and Xu Guangqi - was completed in 1607 under the title *Jihe yuanben*. The *Yuzhi shuli jingyun* ("Imperially Commissioned Compendium of Basic Mathematical Principles"), an encyclopaedia of mathematical knowledge published in 1723, included a part also entitled *Jihe yuanben*, based on the French geometry textbook *Elémens de géométrie*, by the Jesuit Ignace-Gaston Pardies (1636-1673).⁵ After the latter, no geometry book for which European sources can be identified was published in China until the Opium Wars. The translation of Euclid's *Elements* was completed in 1859 by Alexander Wylie and Li Shanlan.⁶ The fact that Clavius' and Pardies' books had the same title - a title rendered in Chinese with the intention of translating literally that of Euclid - echoes the situation in Europe during the century that elapsed between the two. Several mathematicians produced books entitled *Elements of*

³ On this point, see A. Kraye, *Mathematik im Studienplan der Jesuiten*, Stuttgart, 1991; A. Romano, "A propos des mathématiques jésuites: notes et réflexions sur l'ouvrage d'Albert Kraye, *Mathematik im Studienplan der Jesuiten*", *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences* XLVI/2-3 (1993), pp. 281-292.

⁴ C. Clavius, *Euclidis Elementorum libri XV Accessit XVI de Solidorum Regularium cuiuslibet intra quodlibet comparatione, Omnes perspicuis Demonstrationibus, accuratisque Scholiis illustrati, ac multarum rerum accessione locupletati*, Cologne, Rome, 1574.

⁵ I. G. Pardies S.J., *Elémens de geometrie, ou par une methode courte & aisée l'on peut apprendre ce qu'il faut sçavoir d'Euclide, d'Apollonius, & les plus belles inventions des anciens & nouveaux Geometres*, Paris, 1671.

⁶ Horng Wann-sheng, "Li Shanlan: The Impact of Western Mathematics in China During the Late 19th Century", PhD dissertation, The City University of New-York, 1991, pp. 366-379.

geometry, thus giving their own version, interpretation or alternative to the classic; the title was used for many courses taught at different institutions. So one should account for the fact that Clavius and Pardies, rather than any other versions, were translated into Chinese.

In what follows the relevant Chinese treatises will be briefly described. The Jesuits' backgrounds and the audience for whom the books were intended will be considered, as they throw light on some of the choices made by their authors. The way in which a simple geometrical construction is explained in three of these books will then be analysed, so as to illustrate the influence of context on content.

Three of the books contributed by Jesuits had the term *jihe*⁷ in the title: the 1607 *Jihe yuanben*, Giulio Aleni's *Jihe yaofa* (1631), and the 1723 *Jihe yuanben*. However, many others contained (or used) knowledge pertaining to geometry as it was then defined in Europe, including knowledge already found in the *Jihe yuanben*.⁸

One can divide these books into four different sets, which roughly correspond to four different time periods:

- 1) The beginning of the seventeenth century when Jesuits mainly sought to arouse the interest of scholars and to win them over.
- 2) The 1630s when they worked on the imperial calendar reform as civil servants.
- 3) The beginning of the Kangxi reign (1662-1722), when they (especially Ferdinand Verbiest) started tutoring the emperor in western studies (*Xixue*).
- 4) The second half of the Kangxi reign, when the French Jesuits used different sources for their teaching.

⁷ This was the term which came to be used as an equivalent of "geometry". It had a long history, as it is used in many Chinese mathematical books we know of previous to the seventeenth century in the sense of "how much", in the question ending the phrasing of the problem. According to J.-C. Martzloff, "La compréhension chinoise des méthodes euclidiennes au XVII^e siècle et au début du XVIII^e", in *Les rapports entre la Chine et l'Europe au temps des lumières. Actes du II^e colloque international de sinologie*, Paris, 1980, pp. 125-143, p. 126, it was used as an equivalent for "magnitude". Some historians have pointed to a possible phonetic basis for this choice.

⁸ Martzloff, pp. 126-133, gives a bibliography of Chinese works on geometry.

1. Ricci's Time

Apart from the Ricci-Xu translation, several treatises were written during the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century. Some of them were dictated by Ricci himself, and were presented as sequels or appendices to the *Jihe yuanben*: they used the same terminology. They referred to it, or to other books dictated by Ricci, in the way usual in European treatises of the time, just by the number of the *juan* and that of the proposition, rather than by textually quoting it. Thus, the *Celiang fayi* ("Explanation of Measurement Constructions"), discussed measurement and survey problems (which are of great importance in the Chinese mathematical tradition) in terms of Euclidian geometry; it also described the instruments used and their construction. After this, Xu wrote two other short texts. The *Celiang yitong* ("Differences and Similarities in Measurement") was an appendix to the *Celiang fayi*, giving alternative methods for solving some of its problems. The *Gougu yi* ("Meaning of the *Gougu*" 1607) is especially interesting: it was the first analysis of Chinese traditional geometry, based on the *gougu* (right-angled triangle),⁹ in terms of Euclidian geometry. Several problems concerning the various magnitudes combining the three sides of the *gougu*, phrased in traditional terms, are solved relying on *Jihe yuanben* I.47, which all students of the history of western geometry - if not those of the Chinese mathematical tradition - know as the Pythagorean theorem. Li Zhizao's *Yuanrong jiaoyi* ("Comparison of the Circle and of Inscribed [Polygons]", 1614) discussed polygons of equal areas or perimeter. It was shaped as a sequence of definitions (*jie*), rules (*ze*), and propositions (*ti*).

During this first period, the Jesuits were merely "scholars from the West" addressing Chinese literati as individuals, independently from imperial institutions. In his founding enterprise, Ricci undertook to introduce what he regarded as some of the main foundations of Christian culture, which he thought would foster interest in religion. That he regarded the

⁹ On the term *gougu* see C. Jami, "Sur l'organisation du champ des mathématiques chinoises", *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 10 (1988), pp. 45-59, pp. 53-54.

Euclidian text as one of these foundations is probably due to his master's influence. He had been a member of Clavius' Academy of Mathematics at the Collegio Romano and therefore he was among those who received the most advanced training in mathematics provided by the master.¹⁰ Clavius strived to enhance the status of mathematics in the education given at the college, since he believed it held a crucial position between physics and metaphysics.¹¹ On the other hand "mathematics" then comprised the fields for which the scholastic tradition had provided quantitative methods.¹² The syllabus included not only the first six books of the *Elements*, but also arithmetic, cosmography, astronomy, horology...¹³ Ricci's preface to the *Jihe yuanben* reflected this conception of mathematics; it also emphasised its usefulness for practical purposes.¹⁴

In the early seventeenth century (contrary to later periods) the most prominent Chinese scholars of western studies were converts (Xu Guangqi, but also Li Zhizao, Wang Zheng). They collaborated in translations with former students of Clavius. It is likely that in doing so they became familiar with some European sources (even if they could not read them), and also with the rhetoric by which the various elements of European culture they knew of were linked in the Jesuits' view. On the other hand, Ricci's emphasis on the practical applications of mathematics met the trend of *shixue* ("concrete studies"), which developed during the late sixteenth century, partly as a reaction against Neo-Confucian cosmology. It also justified the study of the discipline by its social usefulness.¹⁵ Other topics

¹⁰ Ricci studied at the Collegio Romano from 1572 to 1577. He belonged to the Academy during the last two years. See U. Baldini, P.D. Napolitani ed., *Christoph Clavius: Corrispondenza*, Pisa, 1992, vol. I, part 1, pp. 68-89, vol. I, part 2, p. 86.

¹¹ Engelfriet, pp. 115-116. A.C. Crombie, "Mathematics and Platonism in the sixteenth-century Italian universities and in Jesuit educational policy", in Maeyama Y. & Saltzer W.G. eds., *PRISMATA, Naturwissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studien*, Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 63-94, pp. 64-67. A. Romano, esp. p. 286.

¹² *Quantita* being opposed to *qualitas*. Baldini & Napolitani, vol. I, part 1, p. 59.

¹³ As written in 1562. *Ibidem*, p. 62.

¹⁴ Engelfriet, pp 113-114.

¹⁵ See Du Shiran, "Minshin jidai no jitsugaku shichô to kagaku gijutsu", in S. Minamoto & T. Matsunaka, *Nicchû Jitsugakushi Kenkyû*, Kyoto, 1991, pp. 259-289.

relevant to *shixue* included strategy, mechanics, astronomy, and history.¹⁶

2. *The Calendar Compendium*

The mathematical and astronomical books dated between 1628 and 1635 may be regarded as a set. All were included, at some stage, in the calendar compendium first compiled as the *Chongzhen lishu* ("Calendar Compendium of the Chongzhen Reign"),¹⁷ then renamed *Xiyang xinfa lishu* ("Calendar Compendium According to the New Western Method"), and finally *Xinfa suanshu* ("Computation Compendium According to the New Method") at the beginning of the Qing dynasty.¹⁸

Although geometrical knowledge was used - and sometimes discussed - in most of the books of the compendium, only two of them were directly relevant to geometry:¹⁹ one of them was the *Celiang quanyi* ("Complete Explanation of Measurement", presented to the emperor in 1631), which took readers from measurement of triangles to that of stars, through that of various geometrical objects. The Ming edition attributed authorship to Giacomo Rho, and corrections to Adam Schall. It mentioned the names of several Chinese collaborators.²⁰ However, the modalities of collaboration which resulted in their production were different. None of the Chinese co-authors or editors named on the cover pages of the volumes of *Chongzhen lishu* is known to us otherwise. They were just anonymous civil servants of the Astronomical Bureau, and seem to have left no scientific writings of their own. Moreover, the context in which they learnt geometry was quite different from that of Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao. To them geometry was a tool to be mastered in order to understand the "New Western Method" for calendar making. The study of Clavius' version of Euclid's

¹⁶ J. Gernet, *Le monde chinois*, Paris, 1972, p. 439.

¹⁷ Consisting in various volumes presented to the Chongzhen emperor between 1631 and 1635.

¹⁸ The treatises included in these three compilations are not always the same.

¹⁹ See C. Jami, "Mathematical knowledge in the *Chongzhen lishu*", in *Proceedings of the International Adam Schall Symposium*, Sankt-Augustin, May 1992. Forthcoming.

²⁰ The whole *Xinfa suanshu* is attributed to Xu Guangqi by the *Siku quanshu* compilers.

Elements (which was part of a curriculum lasting several years in Jesuit colleges) was by no means necessary for that purpose; neither was it the quickest way to get there. The Jesuits knew quite well that there were shortcuts: a variety of abridged geometry textbooks had been available in Europe for a long time.²¹

Jesuits who worked for the Astronomical Bureau had also studied at the Collegio Romano, and were familiar with Clavius' works. Johannes Schreck's (1576-1630) reputation as a savant (especially in the field of botany) was already well established when he quitted the Accademia dei Lincei to join the Society of Jesus in 1611. Although Clavius died the year Schreck started studying theology at the Collegio Romano, they had known each other long before that date. Schreck had, on the other hand, studied with François Viète (1540-1603) and is believed to have contributed to the spread of the latter's algebra in Italy. Although Viète's name appeared in the *Chongzhen lishu*,²² no specific influence of his work on the compendium has been substantiated yet.²³ Giacomo Rho (1592-1638) and Adam Schall (1592-1666), who continued Schreck's work after his death, had both belonged to the Collegio Romano's Academy of Mathematics; however it was after Clavius' death, so that they were not actually his disciples.²⁴ The three of them made use of Clavius' works: one could say that in reforming the Chinese calendar they were somehow re-enacting his work for Pope Gregory XIII. Thus, the *Celiang quanyi* is partly based on Clavius' *Geometria practica* (1604) and included Archimedes' treatises: *Measurement of the Circle* and *The Sphere and the Cylinder*. In the *Chongzhen lishu*, mathematical knowledge was structured in accordance to the needs of calendrical astronomy.²⁵

²¹ Engelfriet, p.113, mentions Ramus (1515-1572), who initiated rewritings of geometry following orders different from that given by the axiomatic and deductive structure.

²² In the *Xifa lizhuan* ("History of the Calendar in the West"), Viète is mentioned in an account of the recent progress of astronomy in Europe. C. Jami, "Mathematical knowledge in the *Chongzhen lishu*".

²³ Several of his books were taken to China by Jesuits. See H. Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang*, Peking, 1949, nos. 3037 to 3047.

²⁴ Baldini, Napolitani, vol. I, part. 2, p. 59.

²⁵ Jami, "Mathematical knowledge in the *Chongzhen lishu*".

The *Jihe yaofa* ("Essential Methods of Geometry"), by Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) and Qu Shigu, is also dated 1631. It was only included in the calendar compendium at the beginning of the Qing dynasty. In keeping with its title, the *Jihe yaofa* dealt with geometrical objects, but organised them very differently from the *Jihe yuanben*. Each of the four *juan* was divided into several parts (*zhang*), the first one giving definitions and principles, the following ones giving geometrical constructions.²⁶

The book's context is slightly different from that of other volumes of the *Chongzhen lishu*. Like Ricci, Aleni had been Clavius' disciple at the Academy of Mathematics.²⁷ However, he spent most of his time in China in a milieu quite different from that of his colleagues who worked for the Astronomical Bureau. In the various provinces where he resided, converts and scholars had neither the same scientific background nor the same motivations as imperial astronomers for being interested in geometry. It is not clear exactly when the book was written. We know that he collaborated with Qu Shigu, who was a convert, as well as several officials of Qu's family. In 1623 Qu brought Aleni to his hometown, Changshu (Jiangsu) where the Jesuit founded a church. Two years later he went to Fujian, where he pioneered evangelisation.²⁸ It is therefore possible that the *Jihe yaofa* was written, or at least partly drafted, between these two dates. We know very little about Qu Shigu. However one can get some idea of the level of knowledge that Aleni used in his discussions with Fujian scholars from the dialogues of the *Kouduo richao*.²⁹ They reveal how he explained to them generalities, concerning among others astronomy, cosmology,

²⁶ According to Martzloff, p. 129 n. 24, *fa* means construction in the Euclidian context. My translation of the title follows the more standard interpretation.

²⁷ In 1607-1608. Baldini, Napolitani, vol. I, part. 1, p. 88.

²⁸ L. Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932-34, vol. I, pp. 127-128. A. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington D.C., 1943, vol. I, p. 199. On the Qu family, see also Fang Hao, *Zhongguo tianzhujiao shi renwuzhuan*, Reprint Beijing, 1988, vol. I, pp. 274-283.

²⁹ Kindly communicated by Linda De Lange. See also S. Okamoto, "The *Kouduo richao* (Daily Transcripts of the Oral Clarion Bell): A dialogue in Fujian between China and Europe (1630-1640)", K. Hashimoto et al. eds., *East Asian Science: Tradition and Beyond*, Osaka, 1995, pp. 97-101.

and geography. This does not exclude the possibility that exchanges with some of them may have had a more technical content, as must have been the case for Qu Shigu. One may hypothesise, however, that the *Jihe yaofa* was written for those among Aleni's interlocutors who wanted to know a little more about "western studies" than the general lines found in *Kouduo richao*.

3. *The First Years of The Qing Dynasty*

In the early years of the Kangxi reign, some mathematical treatises were written for the emperor, mainly by Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) - who is said to have translated Euclid's *Elements* into Manchu - but also, later, by Antoine Thomas (1644-1709). Their writings were never published as such, and, although some of them might still be extant in Chinese archives, they are not known to us. However, a few points can be made about them.

With the advent of the Manchu dynasty, the Jesuits had come into much more direct contact with the emperors. Verbiest's written works that are still extant today were mainly concerned with astronomy; geometry was an indispensable background to it. Verbiest never studied at Collegio Romano. By his time, the model Clavius had proposed for the teaching of mathematics had already spread to Jesuit colleges all over Europe, with some modifications due to each teacher's own approach to the discipline. Verbiest studied at Louvain University for a few months. André Tacquet was then teaching mathematics there: he had been a student of Boelmans, whose master was Grégoire de Saint-Vincent. The latter had been Clavius' disciple; his own contributions to mathematics were regarded rather highly by his contemporaries. He is still known for his quadrature of the hyperbola, in connection with logarithms.³⁰ It is not known to what extent Verbiest's mathematical training was shaped by this lineage of teachers, some of whom were in close touch with the progress of the discipline. However we know that Clavius' books were still an

³⁰ In his *Opus geometricum quadraturae circuli et sectionum conii*, 2 vols., Antwerp, 1647. See J. Dhombres, *Une algèbre de raison au XVIIe siècle: la quadrature de la parabole par Grégoire de Saint Vincent*. Forthcoming.

important source for him.³¹ It is therefore likely that his Manchu translation of the *Elements* relied on Clavius' book. Antoine Thomas, on the other hand, wrote a textbook of mathematics before he left Europe, from which we get an idea of the range of topics expressed by this word in his understanding, an understanding which was certainly not peculiar to him. These include, for example, optics and clocks³²: it seems that there had been no drastic change in the discipline's definition since Clavius' time. It would be a misrepresentation to regard geometry as divorced from this broader context, either in European science or in the Jesuits' teaching in China. We know that Thomas taught at Coimbra. This points to the necessity of a better understanding of the teaching of mathematics at this university, where a number of Jesuits stayed on their way to East Asian missions.

4. *The French Mission's Contribution*

The *Yuzhi shuli jingyun* was compiled exclusively by Chinese scholars (its main editors were He Guozong and Mei Gucheng). However we know that its geometrical part was based on lecture notes written by French Jesuits (at first in Manchu) when they taught mathematics to the Kangxi emperor in the 1690s.³³ Some of these are still extant as manuscripts at the Imperial Palace Museum Archive in Peking. However, I have not seen them. The only material on which my analysis is based is the published version, revised by Chinese scholars. It was widely available in China, and remained the basis of the mathematical culture until the Opium War. One may wonder whether Verbiest's or Thomas' teaching to the emperor had any

³¹ G. Moortgat, "Verbiest et la sphéricité de la Terre", in C. Jami & H. Delahaye eds., *L'Europe en Chine*, pp. 172-204, p. 175.

³² Antoine Thomas, *Synopsis Mathematica complectens varios tractatus quo hujus scientiae tyronibus et missionis sinicae candidatus breviter et clare concinnavit.*, Douai, Mairesse, 1685, 2 vols. A close study of this treatise in the perspective of the transmission of mathematical knowledge to China still remains to be done.

³³ Han Qi, "Kangxi shidai chuanru de Xifang shuxue ji qi dui Zhongguo shuxue de yingxiang", PhD dissertation, Peking, Institute for the History of Natural Sciences, 1991, pp. 22-31. Liu Dun, "Shuli jingyun zhong Jihe yuanben de diben wenti", *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 12-3 (1991), pp. 88-96.

bearing on the encyclopaedia's content. We know that Verbiest had many Chinese students at the Imperial Astronomical Bureau (*Qin tian jian*). He and other Jesuits may therefore have had significant influence on the mathematics practised within this institution as well as at the imperial court. The question of what "teaching to the emperor" meant in terms of transmission of knowledge still needs investigation.³⁴ The *Jihe yuanben* included in the *Yuzhi shuli jingyun* is often said to be "simpler" than the translation done by Ricci and Xu Guangqi. It is certainly shorter and written with very different concerns. One should note, however, that the content of Book VII of Euclid's *Elements* was given in the *Suanfa yuanben* which immediately follows *Jihe yuanben* in the *Yuzhi shuli jingyun*.³⁵ The differences between the two presentations of geometrical knowledge cannot merely be reduced to a simplification.

The French missionaries' scientific background was quite different from that of Clavius' disciples, if only because a century had passed since Clavius: the Jesuits were influenced by and took part in the evolution of knowledge and even more in that of teaching. Many of the Jesuits sent to Kangxi by Louis XIV were recognised as well versed in the sciences by their contemporaries. Jean de Fontaney (1643-1710), the mission's first superior, held the mathematics chair at the Paris Jesuit College, Collège Louis le Grand, between 1676 and 1685, when he left for China. He had published some accounts of his astronomical observations, some of them in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*. This points to the scientific milieu that contributed to shaping the French Jesuits' scientific practice in China, namely the savants of the newly created *Académie royale des sciences*. That practice was financed by the king, and mainly aimed to provide data to the *Académie*. College teaching also shaped the French Jesuits' approach to Euclidian geometry.

And indeed their teaching to the Kangxi emperor (probably some of the best advertised lessons in the whole history of

³⁴ We know that in some cases knowledge presented to Kangxi was not spread any further. C. Jami, *Jean-François Fouquet et la modernisation de la science en Chine: la "Nouvelle Méthode d'Algèbre"*; Mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Paris VII, 1986.

³⁵ Han Qi, pp. 29-31.

mathematical education)³⁶ relied on Jesuit pedagogy. Here we should say a few words about the geometry manual used for that teaching.³⁷ Pardies' book was very successful not only in France but in the whole of Europe: it was reprinted several times and translated into Latin, Dutch, and English, and seems to have been used well into the eighteenth century. Its popularity may account for the fact that it was chosen, out of all the *Elements of geometry* published at the time. However, de Fontaney's predecessor at the mathematics chair, the Jesuit Claude François Milliet de Chales (1621-1678),³⁸ who took up the mathematics chair at Collège Louis le Grand upon Pardies' death in 1671, had also published a geometry textbook, which was also reprinted and translated into several languages. His version of Euclid's *Elements* was also available in China: it is listed in Verhaeren's catalogue of the Beitang library (a Latin edition dated 1672 and a French one dated 1690).³⁹ The book first appeared in Latin in 1660, and in French in 1677. Jean de Fontaney may well have taken it to China, as well as Pardies' book. He must have been acquainted with both authors.

Pardies stated his book's purpose in its title: "... in which by a short and easy method one can learn all one should know about Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, and the most beautiful inventions of ancient and new geometers".⁴⁰ Emphasis on ease and novelty was not uncommon in titles of such textbooks at the time. Thus the title of Chales' treatise read: "Euclid's Elements, explained in a new and very easy way. With the use of each proposition for all parts of mathematics".⁴¹ In his preface, Pardies stated the goals implied by the title more explicitly:

³⁶ E.g. in J. Bouvet, *Portrait historique de l'Empereur de la Chine présenté au Roy*. Paris, 1697, pp. 122-148.

³⁷ What follows is based on A. Ziggelaar S.J., *Le physicien Ignace Gaston Pardies S.J. (1636-1673)*, Copenhagen, 1971, pp. 47-68 as well on Pardies' book.

³⁸ His name also appears as Dechales, Deschales, or De Challes. He was a missionary in Turkey for some time.

³⁹ Verhaeren, nos. 170 to 172.

⁴⁰ See *infra* note 5.

⁴¹ C. F. Milliet de Chales S.J., *Les Elemens d'Euclide, expliquez d'une manière nouvelle & très facile. Avec l'Usage de chaque Proposition pour toutes les parties des mathematiques*, Paris, 1683.

Maybe, after all, people will think that I write things down only in an abbreviated form, & that this Geometry can serve as a memorandum to those who already know this science, but not as an instruction for those who want to study it. I say that this is very remote from my intention, which never was to make an epitome; I always intended to make a Geometry that could be used by those who begin, and in which even those who have never heard of Mathematics could learn in very little time not only what is most necessary in Geometry, but also what is most elevated [...]

For it should be noted that one of the things that make the reading of Euclid and of ordinary Authors difficult and boring, is that in the rigorous exactness that they have put to let nothing that can be proved pass without a proof, easy as it may seem otherwise, it often happens that what would have been clear if one had be content with proposing it to the mind, as it naturally appears, becomes difficult and embarrassed, when one wants to reduce it to a demonstration.

Pardies was not among the first who criticised Euclid and who adopted a different order in explaining geometry. The change of order for the sake of clarity can be traced back to Ramus.⁴² Many mathematicians of this period argued that clarity was an essential feature of their discipline, not merely a pedagogical device. On the other hand, if we compare Pardies' audience at the Parisian Collège Louis le Grand to that of Clavius at the Collegio Romano almost a century before, it turns out that they were very different: the former's pupils were no longer mainly scholars (many of them young trainees of the order) who were to devote a lifetime to erudition, but mostly the sons of noble families, whose devotion to studies was much more limited. The difference in style between the two textbooks can also be related to some changes in the teaching of mathematics: in the seventeenth century, mathematicians freed themselves from the demonstrative style for the sake of mathematical invention.

⁴² See *infra* note 21.

Pardies' book drew on someone who may be considered an unlikely source of inspiration for a Jesuit: the famous Jansenist Antoine Arnauld, whose *Geometry* had appeared four years before his.⁴³ Although Pardies never quoted him explicitly (one can guess why; this was by no means as shocking in the seventeenth century as it would seem nowadays), it must have been clear to contemporaries versed in the field where he drew his inspiration from. However the two pedagogues disagreed on the status of geometry. According to Arnauld "the sterile speculations [of geometry] do nothing to make us happy"; he professed to hold geometry itself in low esteem; nevertheless he did contribute to the spread of its study. Pardies, on the other hand, drew theological arguments from geometry (especially from asymptotes, which point to some form of infinity), but also praised its applications to the arts and sciences.

Pardies' pedagogy seems to have been very well adapted to the pupil the French Jesuits considered most important in China. Bouvet wrote that Kangxi wanted to be taught "clear and useful science". Again according to Bouvet, philosophy was taught to the emperor in keeping with this demand:

[...] After having completed in Tartar this introduction to philosophy, which we treated in the briefest and clearest way we could, removing all there is of complicated terms and of pure chicanery, following the Moderns' style, we have begun Physics...⁴⁴

Bouvet was aware of following a model important in Europe, that of the "Moderns", in his teaching to Kangxi. The "complicated terms and pure chicanery" he omitted were exactly what, according to Pardies, "made Euclid and ordinary authors difficult and sometimes boring". A century earlier, Xu Guangqi (who had devoted much more time to it than the Manchu emperor did) had learnt thoroughly these complicated terms and chicanery and seemed convinced of their advantages, partly because Ricci, his teacher, thought them central in what he wanted to teach the Chinese.

⁴³ A. Arnauld, *Nouveaux Elemens de Geometrie*, Paris, 1667.

⁴⁴ J. Bouvet, *Lettre au P. Lecomte*, Pékin, 20 octobre 1691, ARSI, Jap-Sin 165 ff. 100-102, f. 101r.

5. An Example of Content and Style

As an example, let us analyse a rather simple geometrical construction, that of the middle of a segment, using a (non-graduated) ruler and a compass. Let us see under what form it appears in the translation of Clavius (1607), in the *Jihe yaofa* (1631), and in the *Yuzhi shuli jingyun* (1723).⁴⁵

In the Ricci-Xu translation, we find it, as in Clavius' edition and in the original Greek text, as proposition 10 of book I. The text refers to propositions 1 and 9 of the same book, the latter itself relying on a sequence of propositions stated before. If we take a global look at the geometric propositions on which one has to rely in order to construct the middle of a segment, we are faced with a rather impressive edifice (see figure 1). If one aimed at learning how to construct the middle of a segment, this was certainly neither the easiest nor the shortest way to get there. Rather, what is depicted on the diagram is the justification of the legitimacy of the construction *within a system*, the conventions and rules of which have been stated in the definitions and axioms at the beginning of book I. It is interesting to note that constructions have the same status as properties in Euclid's *Elements* as well as in the *Jihe yuanben*: both are propositions located similarly in the same edifice. The proof of I.10 is the deductive argument which leads (from previously established statements) to the assertion that the point obtained by the simple ruler-and-compass construction is indeed equidistant from the two ends of the segment. At the end of the *ti* (proposition) the geometrical construction is described in a paragraph entitled *yongfa* ("practical method"); this is not found in the original Euclidian text. In Clavius, the proposition is followed by a paragraph entitled *Praxis*, which gives not only the method translated by Ricci and Xu, but also another one, to be used when there is no room under the given segment to draw the lower point: in such case one draws two points above the segment. One may venture that those Greek mathematicians concerned with writing *Elements of geometry* would have found the expression of such technical concerns completely out of place in a geometrical book.

⁴⁵All references to texts are to the *Siku quanshu*. The texts given in appendix are reproduced from that edition.

In the *Jihe yaofa* the landscape was completely different from that of the Ricci-Xu translation. The statement was almost identical to that of *Jihe yuanben* I.10, an almost literal translation of the Latin original: "Given a finite straight line, divide it equally into two".⁴⁶ The text gave no proof, but two methods for dividing a segment into two equal parts exactly as they were given in Clavius' *Praxis* (see Chinese text in appendix). These are found in the first *juan* which deals with some geometric generalities. The first method is an almost identical replica of the *yongfa* of *Jihe yuanben* I.10, with some more details: it is no longer the last part of a paragraph, but rather an independent item. It seems that in this particular case both Ricci and Aleni relied on Clavius, choosing what was relevant to their purpose.

How then was this *praxis* given without any justification located in the *Jihe yaofa* ? If we try and enumerate the information given in the book that forms the prerequisites for the construction of the middle of a segment, we find nothing remotely resembling Euclidian structure. At the beginning of *juan* 1, some definitions were indeed given, which would be needed according to Euclid: those of point, line (straight and curved), etc. Following this, three instruments were listed: ruler, compasses and square. A paragraph devoted to the drawing of lines then followed, in which the description of the metal (iron or brass) pen needed to do so was given, with an illustration. This was clearly necessary in the Chinese context: brush is obviously an inappropriate instrument to accurately draw even an elementary straight line using a ruler, and the metal pen must have been unfamiliar to Chinese readers. After this some basic constructions were given. Ours came second. At this stage, the circle had not yet been defined. Its definition only occurred in *juan* 2, shortly followed by the description of four different types of compasses and of how to make them. Let us not conclude from this that the structure of the *Jihe yaofa* was untidy: it was just not Euclidian. *Juan* 1 dealt with constructions involving straight lines; in it circles - and compasses - were only auxiliary tools. *Juan* 2 dealt with constructions involving circles as well as inscribed and

⁴⁶ "Straight" is stated in neither of the Chinese texts.

circumscribed polygons. That the relevant mathematical objects and geometrical instruments should be described at the opening of the *juan* in which they were the centre of interest seems not only coherent and pedagogical; it is also somewhat reminiscent of the Euclidian concern to define objects and conventions before manipulating them: in both cases one first settled the tools that were going to be used. After all, readers knew what a circle was before they opened the book, and they could rely on their eyes and good sense to be convinced that they indeed obtained the middle of the segment by following the given procedures. The *Jihe yaofa* did not present geometry as self-sufficient and divorced from the material world and from the intuitions one gains from it. Here, in contrast to the *Jihe yuanben*, what was needed to achieve the construction were material means and practical knowledge, not legitimation within a closed system.

How does this relate to the two Jesuits' European background, and to their audience? We have seen that both Ricci and Aleni had belonged to the Collegio Romano's Academy of Mathematics. Ricci emphasised the usefulness of Euclidian geometry through its technical applications in his preface to the *Jihe yuanben*. Similar statements were often found in European textbooks' prefaces at the time: there was a continuum between mathematics and the arts and sciences, which was reflected in Clavius' teaching. As for Chinese readers, whether Aleni wrote for literati only little versed in the mathematical sciences or for the officials of the Astronomical Bureau, he provided the latter with quick and convenient means of using geometry for (among others) astronomy, independently of their appreciation of the Euclidian pattern, which they did not need to understand in order to work efficiently. It seems that both of them, relying on a quite similar training, chose from it the elements they found most appropriate to the audience for whom they were writing.

Finally, if we turn to the *Yuzhi shuli jingyun*, we do not find the construction of the middle of a segment as an independent item. In paragraph 9 of *juan 2* of *Yuzhi shuli jingyun* - corresponding to section 2 of its *Jihe yuanben*, which deals with triangles - one reads:

If two of the sides of a triangle are equal, the two angles at its base are also equal. If ABC is a triangle and the

measures of its two sides AB and CB are equal, then the two angles A and C of its base AC are also equal. *If base AC is divided in two equal parts at point D*, from D to the angle B we draw a straight line; which forms two right-angled triangles ABD, CBD [...] (see Chinese text in Appendix)⁴⁷

The reasoning goes on to prove the equality of the two right-angled triangles thus constructed. In II.15 of Pardies' book, we find the same proposition: the sentence corresponding to the one underlined in the above quotation reads: "...si nous imaginons que la base *bc* est partagée également en *d*...".⁴⁸ In both the Chinese treatise and its French source, it seems to be taken for granted that the reader can construct the middle of a given segment, or at least that he can imagine such a construction.

This seems to be in keeping with the passage from Pardies' preface quoted above: the construction of the middle of a segment fell into the category of "what is clear if one is content with proposing it to the mind, as it naturally appears". Indeed if we look at its occurrence in the Ricci-Xu (1607) translation after this, we can sympathise with Pardies' view that it 'becomes difficult and embarrassed, when one wants to reduce it to a demonstration'. Compared to Aleni's *Jihe yaofa* (1631), the eighteenth-century text was certainly neither practical nor directly aimed at applications. Rather, it deliberately adopted a way opposed to the Euclidian style, because it aimed at facilitating the understanding of geometrical propositions, rather than at establishing them within a self-sufficient system. At the same time, it demanded some initiative from its reader, who was expected to have figured out how to construct the middle of a segment, a point regarded as too evident to be stated, but then used in a more sophisticated reasoning. Although Pardies taught mathematics, his book was intended for people who wanted to learn geometry by themselves.⁴⁹ In this respect it is far from obvious that Pardies' book, and the

⁴⁷ The underlining is ours. A, B, C, and D are transcriptions of the first four heavenly stems: *jia*, *yi*, *bing*, *ding*, which were used to name geometrical points in Euclidian geometry, just in the same way as Latin alphabet letters.

⁴⁸ "If we imagine that base *bc* is equally divided in *d*...". Pardies, p. 19.

⁴⁹ According to the *Avis* appended to the preface.

1723 *Jihe yuanben* were simplifications of Clavius and of the 1607 *Jihe yuanben*.

6. Concluding Remarks

The various appearances of Euclidian geometry in Chinese texts translated or adapted from European sources are related to several factors. They cannot be accounted for by a single statement of “understanding” or “misunderstanding” of Euclid: neither Xu Guangqi nor the Kangxi emperor are representative of the range of scholars and officials who became acquainted with geometry. However, these appearances seem to be remarkably well adapted to the audience for whom they were meant. This should not surprise us if we remember that education was one of the main tasks to which the Society of Jesus devoted itself in Europe. The history of education, not merely that of the works nowadays regarded as the most significant in the development of mathematics, should be taken into account when studying the Jesuits’ teaching of geometry in China.

Thus one can characterise the Euclidian geometry introduced into China before the middle of the seventeenth century not simply as “western”, but much more precisely as pertaining to the style in which the discipline was taught by Jesuits at the time. The decisive influence Clavius had on it in Europe was echoed in China. It is interesting to keep in mind that Ricci and Aleni, authors of the two treatises focusing on geometry, were both his disciples at the Academy of Mathematics, and that his writings exerted a direct influence on Jesuit missionaries until Verbiest. In late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Europe, the status and pedagogy of mathematics were highly controversial. In this context the Jesuit college pattern, set up by Clavius and then reproduced with some modifications all over Europe, needs to be taken into account when discussing the mathematics introduced into China.

We have seen that there was some parallel between the choices made by Pardies in his book and by Bouvet and his brothers when they taught the Kangxi emperor. This parallel seems to be shaped by a similar change of audience in both

cases, compared to the beginning of the century. The differences between the two *Jihe yuanben* seem to reflect some evolution in the teaching of mathematics, that included a divorce between the Jesuits and the main trend of innovative research.

These are tentative conclusions which certainly need nuancing. Whereas it has been shown that, for a basic geometrical construction, these three books of Euclidian geometry are extremely different, a more general comparison of these treatises still has to be made. Euclidian geometry is just one of many instances that show that the changes that took place both in China and in Europe during the two centuries of Jesuit evangelisation in East Asia need to be taken into account in order to understand the interactions between the two civilisations, and that these interactions cannot be epitomised as a static encounter between two immutable entities.

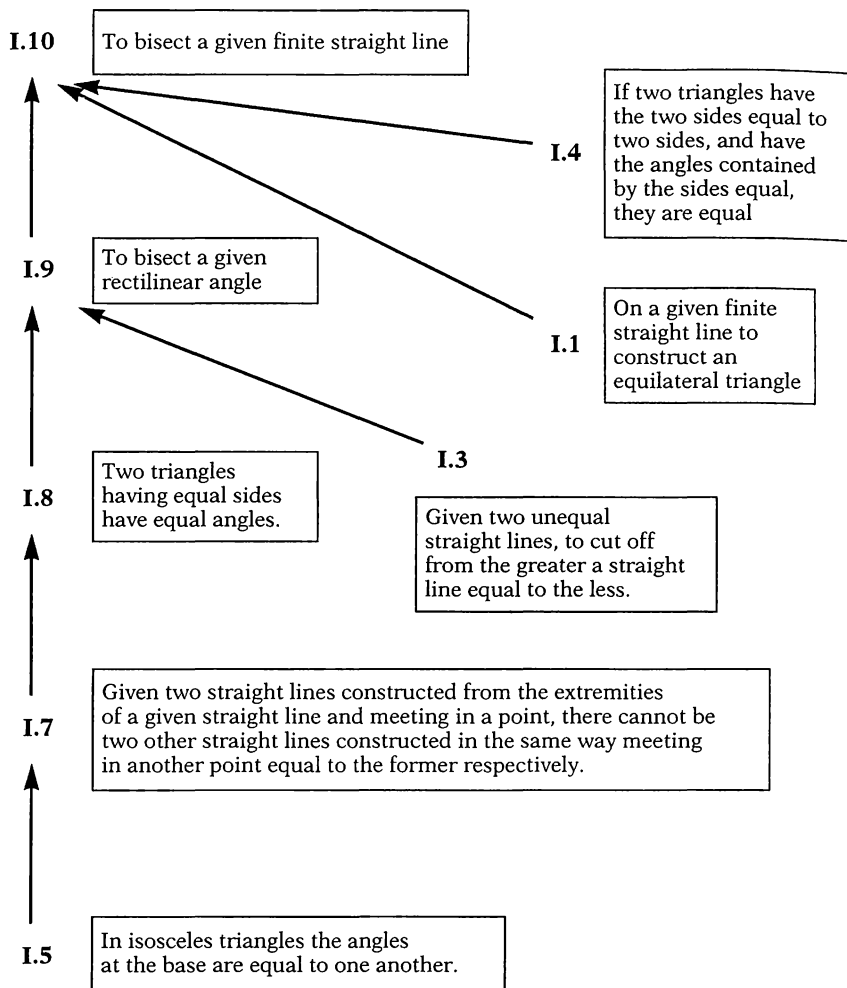
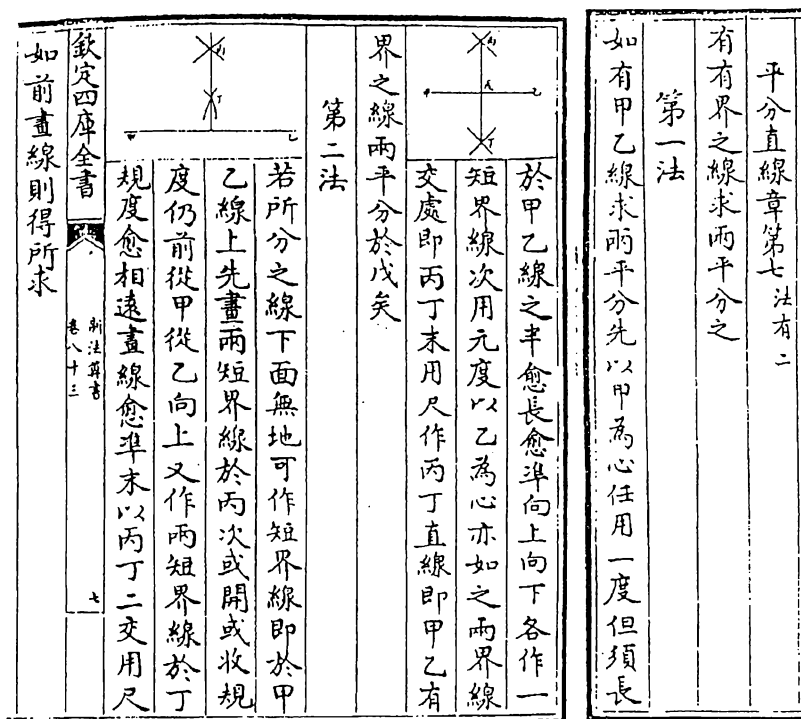


Fig. 1 *Jihe yuanben* (1607) after Clavius.

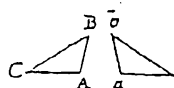


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Fig.2 Jihe yuanben (1631), Siku quanshu, 799/25-26.

12. ELEMENTS
 étant deux lignes l'une par l'autre se ter-
 minant parfaitement, sont égales.

13. La converse aussi de la propo-
 sition précédente est véritable; savoir,
 que si un triangle a tous ses trois
 côtés égaux aux trois côtés d'un autre
 triangle, tous les angles de l'un seront
 aussi égaux aux angles de l'autre, & tout
 l'espace que contient un triangle, sera
 aussi égal à l'espace que contient l'autre



je dis que l'angle \angle sera égal à l'angle \angle
 de B à b , & C à c , & tout le triangle
 ABC à tout le triangle abc ; ce qui n'a
 pas besoin d'être prouvé.

14. Si l'angle A est égal à l'angle a ,
 & l'angle B à l'angle b , & le côté AB
 au côté ab ; le côté AC le sera aussi
 au côté ac , & BC à bc , & tout le
 triangle ABC à tout le triangle abc ;
 cela est aisé à prouver par les précédentes.

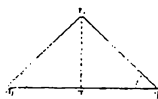
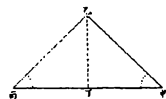
15. En tout triangle isos-
 cèle, les deux angles qui se
 font sur la base par les jambes
 égales, sont égaux entre eux.
 Soit le triangle abc , dont la



DE GEOMETRIE, LIV. II. le
 sommet a b soit égale à a c, je dis que
 l'angle b est égal à l'angle c ; car si
 nous imaginons que la base b est par-
 tagée également en d , la ligne ad sera
 deux triangles ade & adc . Dans trois
 côtés de l'un seront égaux aux trois co-
 tés de l'autre; car a est égal à a par
 l'hypothèse ou supposition de la propo-
 sition même; d est égal à d , par
 ce que nous supposons icy que la base b
 est partagée également en d . Le troisième
 côté ad est commun à tous les deux
 triangles; ainsi les trois côtés de l'un
 sont égaux aux trois côtés de l'autre,
 & par conséquent tout le triangle ade
 est égal à tout le triangle adc , & l'angle e à
 l'angle c (2. 17.) ce qu'il s'agit de démontrer.

16. Dans tout triangle isocèle, la li-
 gne qui tombe de l'angle de sommet
 partage la base en deux également, est
 perpendiculaire à la même base, & divise
 l'angle du sommet aussi en deux égale-
 ment; car l'angle a d e est égal à l'an-
 gle a d c par la précédente; & par con-
 séquent ils sont tous deux droits, & la
 ligne ad perpendiculaire sur bc , (1. 11.)
 & de même l'angle abc est égal à l'an-
 gle acb par la précédente.

17. En tout triangle le plus grand côté
 soutient ou soutient (sustinet) le plus
 grand angle, & est à dire, est opposé au



甲角丙角之度亦必等也

之度亦必相等因其各角之度相等故

矣三角形之三線既各相等則其各角

三角形之各三邊線度必俱相等可知

三角形所共用之各一邊線然則此兩

分之甲丁丙丁線度亦等則乙丁為兩

乙線與丙乙線既相等而甲丙底線平

甲乙丁丙乙丁兩三角形此兩形之甲

分於丁處自丁至乙角畫一直線遂成

角丙角之度亦俱等也若以甲丙底平

乙兩邊線之度等則其甲丙底線之甲

度亦必等如甲乙丙三角形其甲乙丙

三角形之兩邊線若等其底線之兩角

第九

Fig. 3 Pardies, *Elemens de geometrie*, Paris, 1671 and
 Shuli jingyun, *Siku quanshu*, 799/25-26.

第十題

一有界線求兩平分之



法曰甲乙線求兩平分先以甲乙為底作甲

欽定四庫全書

幾何原本

十二



乙丙兩邊等三角形

本篇

次以甲丙乙角兩

平分之

本篇

得丙丁直線即分甲乙于丁

論曰丙丁乙丙丁甲兩三角形之丙乙丙甲兩腰等

而丙丁同線甲丙丁與乙丙丁兩角又等

本篇

則甲

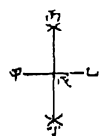
丁與乙丁兩線必等

本篇

用法以甲為心任一度但須長于甲

乙線之半向上向下各作一短界線次

用元度以乙為心亦如之兩界線交處即丙丁末



作丙丁直線即分甲乙于戊

Fig. 4 *Jihe yuanben* (1631), *Siku quanshu*, 798/593-594.

JESUIT *MEMORIA*, CHINESE *XINFA*: SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE ORGANISATION OF MEMORY

Michael Lackner

Among Matteo Ricci's numerous adaptations of European thought for a Chinese public, at least two documents are in a more or less close connection with memory. This is by no means surprising, for *memoria* and *reminiscentia*, in both their philosophical and rhetorical variety, had been a recurrent topic in European thought since early antiquity. The first of these documents is a treatise on "The Western Art of Memory" (*Xiguo jifa*, henceforth *jifa*) that, apart from a general introduction into the history of western mnemonics, gives a somewhat sinicised instruction about the technique of memory. The second document, a diagram in Ricci's catechism, the *Tianzhu shiyi* ("True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven", or, to put it in somewhat simpler terms, "The Truth about God"), shows the "Kinds of Being" (*wu zonglei*), and is meant to be a tool for memorising the summa of medieval philosophy. Although there is no explicit mention of memory in either the diagram or the commentary which follows the visual representation, the instrument itself belongs clearly to western mnemonic tradition.

We know that both documents had little - if any - resonance among Ricci's Chinese contemporaries, although Ricci made considerable efforts to embed them within the Chinese tradition. The question of whether the reasons for this particular failure have to be sought in culturally different organisations of memory shall in part be answered by some rather preliminary remarks in the present article.

I. *The Xiguo jifa*

The "Western Art of Memory" is one of the more important documents of the adaptation of a speciality of occidental

civilisation within a Chinese context.¹ The “textus receptus” is a result of a cooperation of subsequent authors: the first draft can be traced back to Matteo Ricci who, in 1595, had amazed a group of scholars (*xiuca*) by his astonishing capacity of memorising a series of more than four hundred Chinese characters which they had written down without any logical order. After this first success, Ricci accepted several disciples in the “art of memory”, but without any concrete results. We may thus assume that the teaching was as disappointing as had been the previous reaction of Lu Wan’gai, the governor of Jiangxi. In order to help the sons of the governor to overcome the examination hell, Ricci had submitted a written version of his art of memory. Lu commented this version by the discouraging words that “to use these excellent rules of memory, one needs already a good memory”. According to a preface written by Zhu Dinghan, a Chinese convert, Alfonso Vagnone (1566-1640), reworked the text, “improved its style”, perhaps with the help of one or more Chinese Christians. The oldest published version dates back to 1625.²

Qualifying the text as a document of western civilization, means that there is reason enough not to call it a document of western humanism, unless we consider humanism to be a sterile, stagnant and merely retrospective repertory, much in the sense of nineteenth-century understanding of “humanism”. As a matter of fact, by Ricci’s lifetime, European humanism had already transformed in a most creative way the old art of memory which had been transmitted since the times of Greek antiquity, as has been shown by Frances Yates³: the medieval organisation and structuring of “the enormous palaces of memory” (*lata preatoria memoriae*, Augustine⁴) had become an inventory serving for the organisation of both the visible and invisible world, an inventory which had left the original starting point, namely its use in rhetorics, far behind. In contrast to this evolution, the Chinese *Xiguo jifa* deals with a conventional medieval “ars memorativa”,

¹ See my complete and annotated translation: M. Lackner, *Das vergessene Gedächtnis. Die jesuitische mnemotechnische Abhandlung Xiguo jifa. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Wiesbaden, 1986.

² *Ibidem*, introduction.

³ F.A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, London, 1966.

⁴ *Confessiones*, X.

which is solely based on the rules of rhetoric; in view of the European evolution, it represents an anachronism.

Anachronistic characteristics can be found to some extent in most of the Jesuits' adaptations of philosophical and scientific knowledge which was certainly not always on the highest contemporary western level. Jesuit education seems to have worked as a closed receptacle (*vase clos*), which conserved pre-modern modes of thought. This conservatism holds even more for the formal aspects than for the concrete contents of the Jesuits' teaching, and the "Western Art of Memory" seems to be an excellent example.

There is a good deal of sterility in the most eminent products of adaptation. We know today to what degree the some times excessive and exaggerated reproaches to the Jesuits by French historians such as Michelet and Quinet⁵ are due to the political situation of their time. And yet, I think that there is a heuristic nucleus in their criticism: the lack of creativity on the side of the Jesuits. Michelet called it the "mechanical genius":

Admirable mécanique, où l'homme n'est plus qu'un ressort qu'on fait jouer à volonté. Seulement, ne demandez rien que ce qu'une machine peut produire; une machine donne de l'action, mais nulle production vivante, à la grande différence de l'organisme animé, qui non seulement agit, mais produit des organismes animés tout comme lui. La mécanique des Jésuites a été active et puissante; mais elle n'a rien fait de vivant...⁶

However, one should not expect too much: a mediator is a person who, being himself a "marginal man", adapts given teachings to a different situation, a situation in which, under certain circumstances, he may have an innovative impact even if the knowledge which he transmits is out of date in his original culture.

The method of the "Western Art of Memory" was not Greek, it was medieval; none of the modifications added to it in western humanism were taken into account by the compilers of

⁵ See Michelet et Quinet *des Jésuites*, intr. par Paul Viallaneix, Paris, 1966.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

the Chinese version of the "Art". Since in a European context, in the moment of its adaptation to the Chinese language, it served only clergymen for the purposes of ecclesiastical rhetorics, it was not able to cope with the needs of Chinese literati. Thus, in addition to the reasons Gernet and Zürcher⁷ have given for the difficulties - if not the failure - of the implementation of Christianity in China, we also have to take into account the sterility of parts of the transmitted knowledge. In the case of the "Art of Memory", the cultural transfer of dead knowledge, a knowledge which must have appeared too mechanical to the contemporary Chinese literati, had a negative impact on its success, even though its stage-managing was rather ingenious.

Since a complete and annotated translation of the *Xiguo jifa* exists, it is not necessary to repeat all the details of its content. We may, however, recapitulate that the *Jifa* is based on the conventional theory of the organisation of "memoria": human memory is interpreted as a store-house divided, in a first step, into several "loci" endowed with an almost concrete existence and a life of their own. Measures have to be taken in order to protect the "loci", with roofs and the like, from the rain. Columns, pillars etc. mark the "loci" that should be neutral and, more importantly, never be changed. Subsequently, this store-house can filled with *imagines*, images representing the items to be memorised, sometimes even word by word. In order to remember, for instance, the Italian words "o che" (or that), one creates the image of geese (it. "oche"); in order to memorise the Italian word "che" (that), one simply has to think of beheaded geese. The Chinese adaptation of this art incorporates phonetic procedures as well as techniques based on the morphology of the Chinese characters. In accordance with the Italian example of "oche", we could, for instance, decapitate a dragon (*long*) and, while retaining only his head (l), proceed in the same way with a crane (*he*), retaining the body (e). A creature with a dragon's head and a crane's body thus reminds us of the word for "joy" (*le*). Although this method is clearly based on a -

⁷ Gernet's theories in *Chine et Christianisme* are summarised by E. Zürcher, *Bouddhisme, Christianisme et société chinoise*, Paris, 1990, pp. 11-42. See *ibidem* for Zürcher's explanations.

sometimes dramatic - visualisation of the *fanqie* system which dated from the end of the Han dynasty, the possibilities of working with the different elements of a Chinese character lie at hand, and have always been practised in China (in divination), although not in an explicit way for the sake of memory. In an almost imperceptible “natural” way, the *Xiguo jifa* also introduces certain Christian notions, such as the Cross etc.

Most of the *Jifa* is based on a system of rhetoric which works word by word, as was the case for the Italian “che”. The way in which Chinese characters are transformed into *images* is an essentially tautological one, because all Chinese characters work as images, even though not all of them are images.⁸ Recent findings in the psychology of cognition seem to prove this statement. The medieval, roundabout way the *Jifa* proposes, for instance, as a mnemonic aid for “fisherman”, namely its transformation into a fishing pole, is superfluous given the mnemonic aid provided by the morphology of the Chinese character in question (“water+fish”). The knowledge to be transmitted by the *Jifa* was already a structural constituents of thought, at least as far as the “*images agentes*” are concerned. Even though there was a systematic use of both positions and images in the *Yijing* (Classic of Changes), the Chinese tradition never developed an explicit and conscious art of memory.

It is also worth noting that the *Jifa*, more than other contemporary writings of the Jesuits, reflects the existence of a double audience: of course, it is, first of all, meant to help a Chinese audience faced with the existential problem of coping with the examinations; but one feels at every page the presence of a western public (here: future missionaries) eager to learn the Chinese writing system. We could, of course, ask ourselves whether the “Art of Memory” succeeded at least in this regard, but this problem is not within the scope of the present article.

⁸ See the commentary to my translation in Lackner, p. 17. Cf. also J.F. Billeter, *L'art chinois de l'écriture*, Genève, 1989, p. 14: “Contrairement à nos écritures, qui obligent à passer des lettres aux sons et des sons aux idées, qui cachent par conséquent les idées derrière les deux barrières successives des lettres et des sons, l'écriture chinoise semble manifester directement l'idée. Tandis qu'elle est cachée chez nous sous le dehors prosaïques d'une combinaison de lettres, l'idée est représentée en Chine par un caractère distinct qui lui donne une physionomie propre”.

A minor part of the *Jifa* deals with whole sentences. The procedures which transform the meaning of a sentence into an “imago” can be considered as one of the most ingenious adaptations of the western “ars memoriae”, because they depart from the physical form of a given character while introducing, at the same time, images which stand for syntactical entities. Nevertheless, in no case do these images cross the border which separates mere representations from metaphorical metamorphosis: in order to memorise a passage from *Shijing* (The Classic of Songs; Mao, 160), “the wolf springs forward on his dewlap, or trips back on his tail”, the *Jifa* recommends that the scholar should “think of a man who hunts two wolves by shooting arrows from his bow. The first wolf stumbles forward on his dewlap, the second one trips back on his tail”. It is evident that this is not a metaphor, but a rather poor and mechanical repetition of what has been said in the poem; in order to transform it into an “imago agens”, the human perspective, i.e. the hunter, has been added.

However, because the *Jifa* does not always use the metaphors underlying the original Chinese context, some of the “imagines agentes” may have offended the contemporary Chinese reader because of their merely functional (sometimes even immoral and ridiculous) character in connection with what was considered to be a sacred text, i.e. the Chinese classics. In *Lunyu* (Analects of Confucius) 9:12, Zigong speaks about a man’s talents: “There is a beautiful gem here. Should I lay it up in a case and keep it? or should I seek for a good price and sell it?” The Master said: “Sell it! Sell it! But I would wait for one to offer the price”. The *Jifa* recommends us to memorise the “imago” of a sage who holds a piece of white jade in his hands which he has taken out of a decorated case; next to him stands a foreign merchant presenting ten golden coins.⁹ *Daxue* (Great Learning) 6 quotes a sentence by another disciple of Confucius, Zengzi: “What ten eyes behold, what ten hands point to, is to be regarded with reverence!” The *Jifa* depicts “ten eyes, and ten hands in the wall - as if they pointed and looked...”¹⁰ In the first case, the *Jifa* has neglected the original

⁹ See Lackner, p. 52.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

metaphor (gem/jade for human talents); it shows but the surface of the discourse. There is, however, one exception: the “foreign” (lit.: “barbarian”, *hu*) merchant who could perhaps be understood as a metaphor for the Jesuit missionaries. This indecorous image may have even increased the repugnance of a Chinese reader, but in any case, we are far from the message the original Chinese text conveys. As for the passage from the *Daxue*, the absurdity of the “image” used to memorise a perfectly rational and intelligible text can be supposed to have at least diminished the acceptance of the *Jifa*.

Anyway, the *Jifa* was not a success; it was a perfect adaptation of a technique which, in spite (or: because?) of its erudition, had already declined in the West, and which, moreover, did not apply to the Chinese situation. There are, of course, many reasons for this failure: one of them is to be sought in the fundamental differences between alphabetic and non-alphabetic languages and the different modes of learning engendered by these; another, in the gap which separates a medieval preacher preparing and memorising his sermon from a Chinese literatus who is confronted with the constraints of his examination essay; a third, might be that the rules of memory of the *Jifa* were “too explicit for functioning in the Chinese handbook genre”, an observation made by Goodman and Grafton.¹¹

We do not know whether Xu Yuntai, who in 1615 published a monumental collection of metaphors, the *Yulin*¹² (“Forest of metaphors”), had heard about the *Xiguo jifa* and its rather maladroit use of images in a mnemonic perspective. Just as is the case for the dramatic reform of the Chinese radical system by Mei Yingzuo’s dictionary *Zihui* (compiled in 1615): we do not know the exact extent of foreign influence, although the coincidence seems rather convincing, since Mei mentions the Jesuits.¹³ In contradiction with the mainstream of Chinese thought with regard to memory, Xu thinks that metaphors are in fact a valuable aide-mémoire:

¹¹ H. Goodman & A. Grafton, “Ricci, the Chinese, and the Toolkits of Textualism” *Asia Major*, Third Series vol. III, part 2 (1990), pp. 95-148.

¹² *Yulin*, 8 vols., Taipei, 1972.

¹³ A study of Mei Yingzuo’s impact on the Chinese writing system is forthcoming.

"I am very simple-minded and I forget easily; even when I try to read a text and to memorize it by repeated reading, I get confused after a while and do not remember anything. Therefore I write down all that I have heard during the day to preserve my knowledge acquired [during the day]. But at the same time, I am fond of metaphors, because the various forms and categories of comparison do penetrate the mind in a most easy way."¹⁴

In fact, according to Xu Yuntai, whoever wants to struggle against oblivion and enlarge his own memory, has to recur to metaphors. In a rather sharp contrast to the mainstream of Chinese memory tradition (which considered memory as the result of a natural gift plus learning by heart), Xu stresses an artificial access, a roundabout way, to memory, which probably has been prepared by one of the versions of the *Jifa* or simply because Xu had heard of its main arguments.

In this context, one may also think of Shao Fuzhong's (*jinshi* 1596) theory on the efficiency of images in the framework of the Christian mission; according to the author of the *Tianxue shuo*, "the teaching of the Masters of Tian (i.e. the missionaries) from the great West seems able to succeed in the concerted use of images".¹⁵ Of course, Shao refers here to icons as images, which had also produced the "deep reaction of Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao..., both in their waking and their dreaming lives."¹⁶ Xu Yuntai's metaphors, however, are authentic ones in the sense that, in the enormous quantity of quotations he drew from classical Chinese literature, the *signifiant* is never completely identical with the *signifié*, although both conscious and unconscious metaphors, as well as metonymies and synecdochical constructions are to be found in the *Yulin*. The innovation with regard to Chinese traditional learning, and, consequently, a possible influence of the *Jifa*, seems to lie more in the connection with memory itself (i.e. the "roundabout way" instead of learning by heart) than in any common formal approach.

¹⁴ *Yulin*, preface, pp. 11-12.

¹⁵ Goodman & Grafton, pp. 114-116.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

II. Diagrams as Mnemonic Aids

There are, of course, other forms of mnemonics. In the above-quoted article, Goodman and Grafton suggest that “what we should also explore is the close connection between memory, figuration, spatiality, and pictorial representation. Ricci apparently missed some western traditions regarding these, for if he had mastered Lullian science he would have recognized several tools used also in the science of the Book of Changes”.¹⁷

In fact, the problem is far more complicated. First of all, Ricci did know Lullian “ars magna”, or at least some of its formal models: a closer examination of the *Tianzhu shiyi* proves that he was familiar with a certain kind of diagram (the “arbor Porphyri”) used in western tradition. Chapter 4 of this book contains a diagram¹⁸ (See fig. 1). A description in form of a linear discourse follows the diagram. This commentary contains an outline of the summa of medieval philosophical thought with regard to nature. There is nothing really original in it, except the sometimes rather ingenious Chinese renderings of western philosophical terms.

Once again, it has to be said that this particular form of adaptation is only an adaptation, not an invention. The spiritual ancestors of this diagram can be traced back to thirteenth- or even twelfth-century Europe (once again: the Middle Ages), and, moreover, they became part of the Lullian system of representation of the “loci communes” of theology and philosophy.¹⁹ So, even if Ricci had not known Raimundus Lullus, the diagram he adapted to a Chinese context is part of a western tradition used by Lullus for his own system, the “ars magna Lulli”. There are basically two models which Ricci follows in his diagram; both of them are of the scholastic, stemmatic type (i.e. possessing an arborescent structure, like a

¹⁷ *Ibidem* p.146.

¹⁸ M. Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, transl. by D. Lancashire and P. H.K. Chen, Taipei, 1985. The diagram and the translation of its commentary are to be found on pp. 193-194.

¹⁹ See A.C. Esmejer, *Divina Quaternio*, Amsterdam, 1972.

genealogical tree), which is analytical: it demonstrates how a given subject (e.g. the “ens reale”, the sciences, virtues and vices, i.e. moral behaviour, etc.) can be divided into its component parts. “Diagrammatic presentation of such information was both more immediate and more economical than a prose account... there were occasions when it (i.e. the diagram) was regarded as an aid to memory, and as a tool for clarifying arguments. The Middle Ages was well aware of the value of the visual aid...the layout of word and image was calculated so that the one complemented the other, and the picture was keyed to the argument with a phrase like ‘as the following picture makes clear’”.²⁰

The two applications of a stemmatic form are, firstly, the analytical “dissection” of the term of “being” (“ens”), which we find in Ricci’s Chinese diagram, and, secondly, the division of science or of some other “loci communes”. By combining the methodological representation (stemmatic) of Aristotelian thought (“being” etc.) with the formal representation of the preLullian division of science (“Arbor scientiae”), Ricci gives us an authentic image of medieval visualisation of Truth. For some of the models he might have had in mind, see fig. 2 and 3.

But let us remember, once more, that the creativity lies, if ever, only in the Chinese “shell” Ricci found for his adaptation. The adaptation as a whole remains “mechanical” in the sense of Michelet. Diagrammatic representation had already, in his times, left the Middle Ages far behind.

Nevertheless, one could ask whether the Chinese tradition offered any similarity. 1. The use of diagrams (chin.: *tu*) for mnemonic purposes is a rather commonplace phenomenon in China.²¹ However, instead of *jifa* (lit.: “method of memory” = Art

²⁰ M. Evans, “The Geometry of the Mind”, *Architectural Association Quarterly* 12 (1980), pp. 32-55, here: p. 34. See also K.A. Wirth, “Von mittelalterlichen Bildern und Lehrfiguren im Dienste der Schule und des Unterrichts”, B. Moeller, H. Patzke u. K. Stackmann eds., *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Göttingen, 1983, pp. 256-370 (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*). The western diagrams shown in the present article are drawn from Wirth.

²¹ See my articles, “Die Verplanung des Denkens am Beispiel der *tu*”, H. Schmidt-Glintz *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung im frühneuzeitlichen China*, Wiesbaden, 1990, pp. 133-156, and “Argumentation par diagrammes: une architecture à base de mots”, *Extrême Orient - Extrême Occident* 14 (1992), pp. 131-168.

of Memory), a Chinese literatus would have used the expression *xinfu* for these diagrams, thus referring himself to the meditative part of memorising and interpreting difficult texts. Diagrams in the support of textual analysis were “invented” in China (by the Neo-Confucians) and in the West (by the clergymen) at almost the same time [twelfth century, with a period of particular flourishing until the fourteenth century], and at least the Chinese form had antecedents (the Taoist charts). Because of the bias of his missionary strategy, Ricci, however, dealt with people who were, in spite of some controversies, deeply rooted in the Neo-Confucian tradition. It is thus this Neo-Confucian aspect rather than the Taoist diagrams that should be he examined more closely.

With what kind of analysis do the Chinese diagrams and their western counterparts deal? First of all, it can be said that while the diagram which explains and displays the ramifications of a notion (e.g. “ens reale” science, philosophy) is the most common diagrammatic form in the West, it plays only a minor role - if any - in China. In China the hierarchical organisation (from the top to the bottom), which Ricci’s diagram represents, had been the invention of the Neo-Confucians. This can be clearly shown by the evolution and subsequent transformation of the famous *Taijitu*.²² Prior to the Neo-Confucian “rationalisation” of the diagrammatic form, the arborescent structure was, of course, used for representations of ritual hierarchy and, of course, in genealogies (see fig. 4); later, in the Neo-Confucian school, it was also used to analyse phrases, sentences, passages and entire texts (see fig. 5 and 6).

The last statement, however, brings us to a particularity of the Chinese Neo-Confucian diagrams: all of them are based on a well-defined text or corpus of texts. The diagram was meant, firstly, to give an analytical overview of the structure of this text and, secondly, to be a visual aid for memorising this text together with a standard interpretation, which was, as a rule, known by heart. Both elements made the diagram a *xinfu*, since charts representing textual transmission, as well as genealogical or ritual/hierarchical diagrams, had a textual root (the written ritual, and the clan register, *zupu*), the only (early) exception

²² Cf. note 21, “Die Verplanung...”, pp. 139-146.

apparently was the famous *Taijitu*, for which no text except the *tushuo*, i.e. the written commentary, exists. However, it seems that the Neo-Confucian tradition soon found the absence of a basic text intolerable so Zhu Xi declared another work of Zhou Dunyi, the *tongshu*, to be the textual root being visualised by the *Taijitu*.²³

Ricci's diagram, as well as his earlier medieval models, does not represent a text or a clearly limited textual corpus to be memorised but, instead, a summa of positive knowledge. No basic text exists for his diagram. Lacking a text, in a certain way it may have been too concrete for a contemporary Chinese reader. Whereas the western diagram illustrates facts, the Chinese counterpart is interested in sacred texts or, in some cases, in the genealogical transmission of these texts, a phenomenon which led to something similar to the "Division of science" in medieval diagrams, the difference being once again that the western form retains facts, whereas the Chinese form retains names. Since the main function of a Neo-Confucian diagram is textual analysis (this is also true for all diagrams based on the *Yijing*, since the *Changes* has to be considered as a text, see fig. 7), Ricci's illustration of the "Book of Nature" seems to have completely missed the mark: the mere idea that there is a division between the "Book of Nature" and the "Book" was inconceivable to Ricci's Chinese contemporaries.

One might say that the major part of the *Xiguo jifa* was not successful because the Chinese character allows for a more direct access to what is meant (the signified) than is the case in alphabetic writing systems which need a roundabout way to the signified. On the contrary, a western diagram allows for an immediate understanding of facts, whereas the Chinese diagram has, in most cases, a text in an intermediate position. The writing system and the respective function of diagrams thus compensate the defaults of the languages in question.

The fact that another chart, the "mappamondo", was much better received in China, shows that argumentation by means of language will always be the most difficult issue in intercultural understanding.

²³ See *Zhuzi quanshu*, vol. 52, ff. 24b-25a.

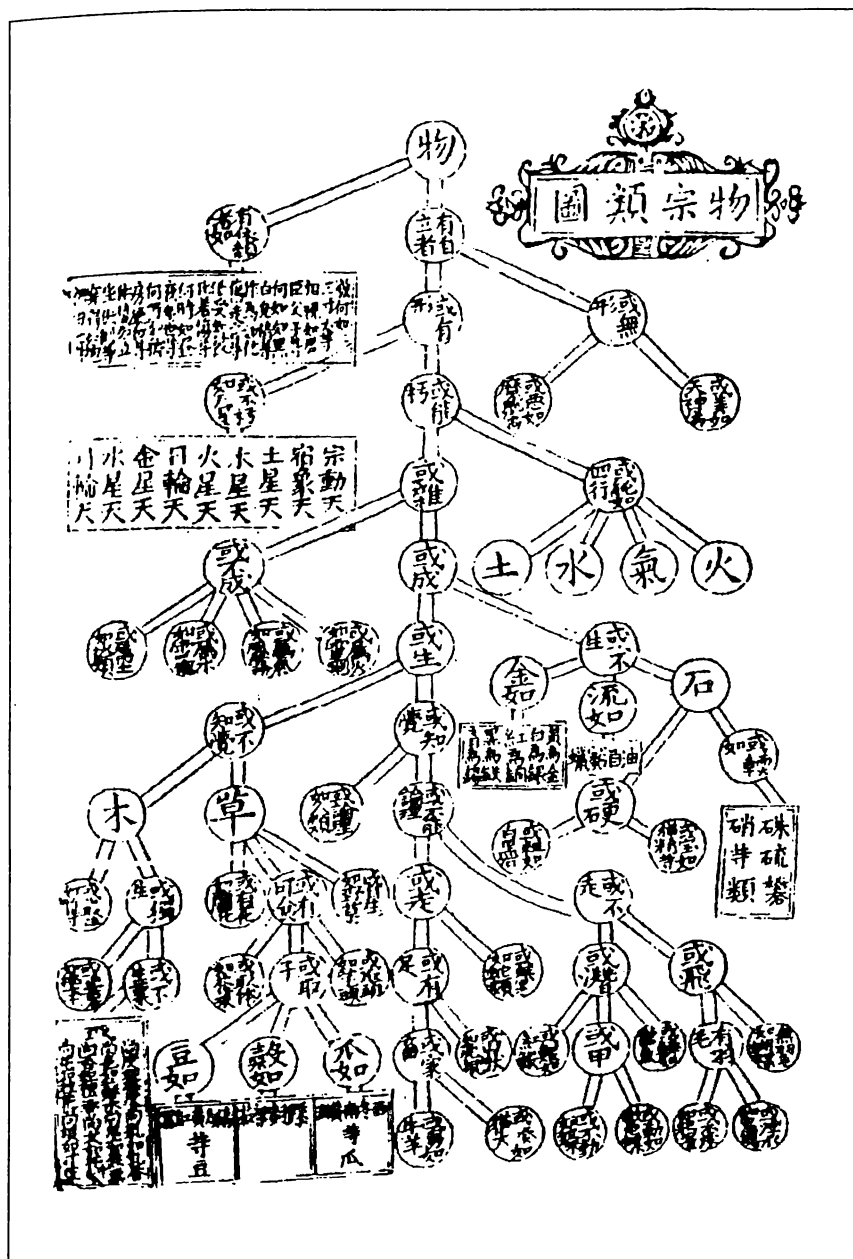


Fig. 1: Ricci's diagram on the "Kinds of Being" (from the *Tianzhu shiyi*, see note 18).

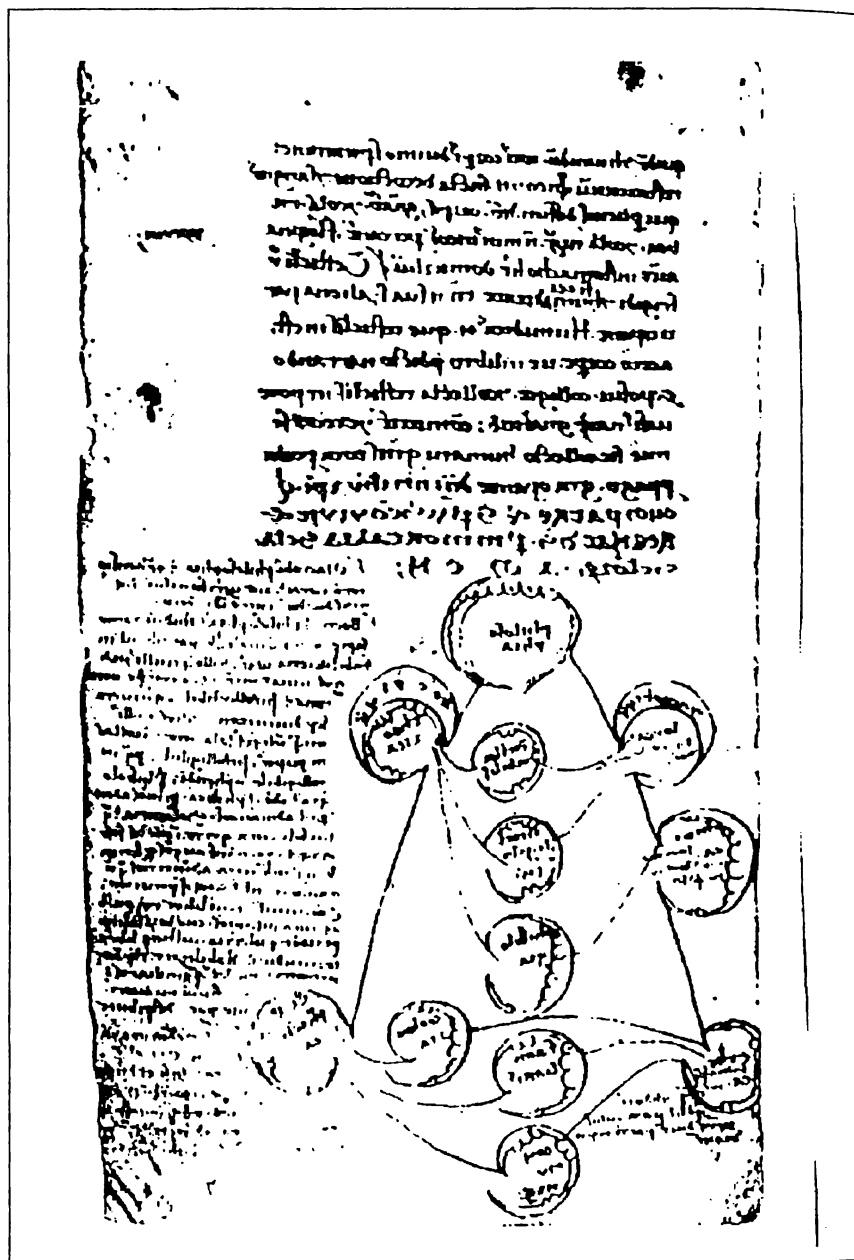


Fig. 2: Diagram illustrating the divisions of philosophy, 12th. cent. (from K.A. Wirth, see note 20).

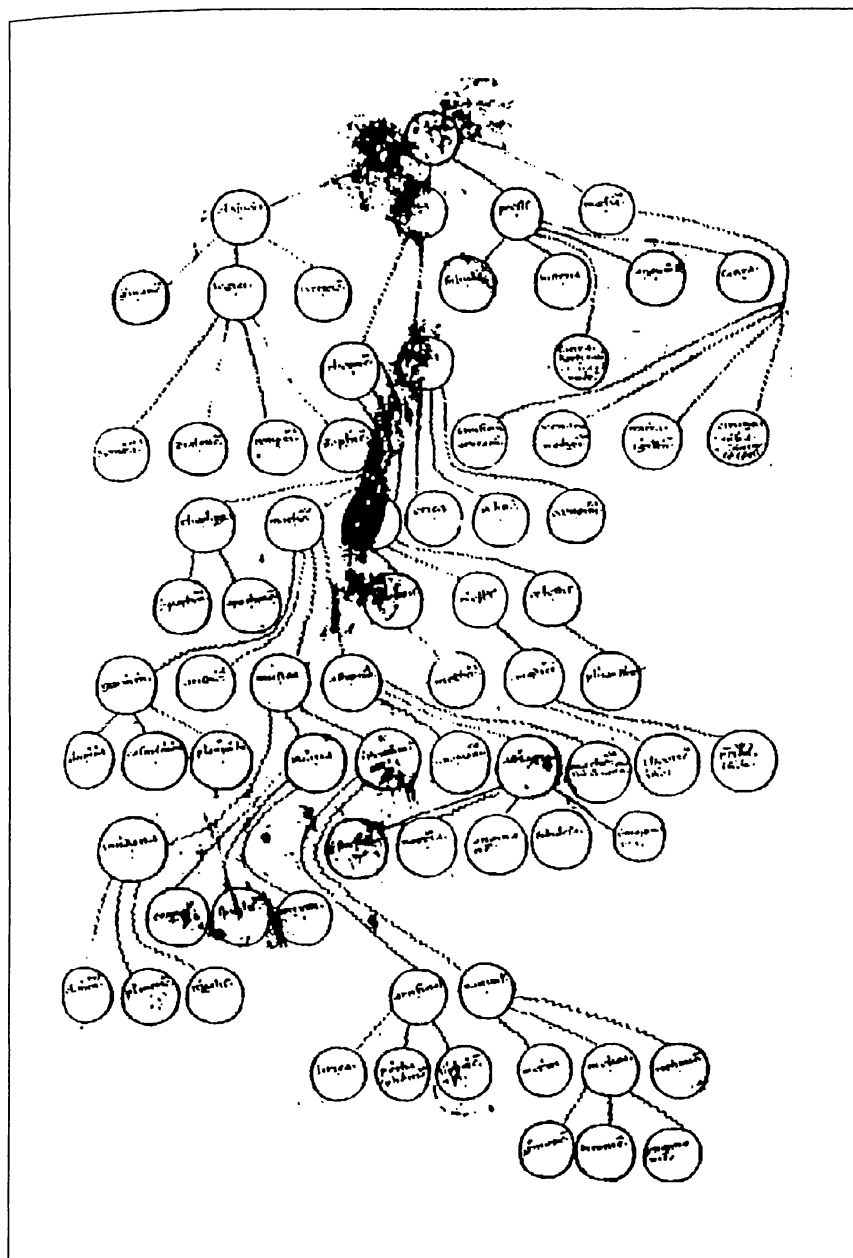


Fig. 3: The Division of Science, 13th. cent. (from K.A. Wirth, see note 20).

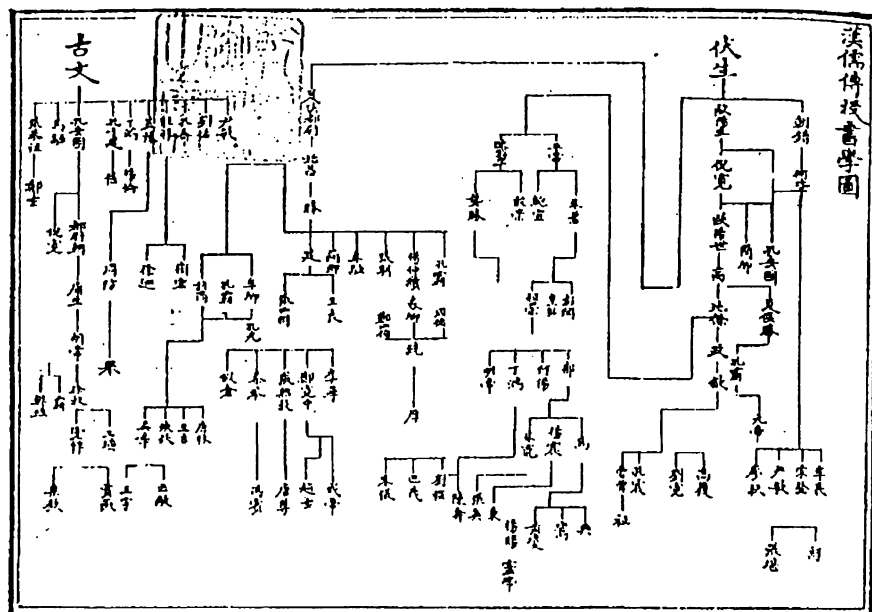


Fig. 4: "Genealogical" diagram illustrating the transmission of the Classic of Documents (*Shujing*) and the subsequent schools of interpretation in the Han Dynasty [from Yang Jia (Song dynasty), *Liuqing tu* (Diagrams illustrating the Six Classics)].

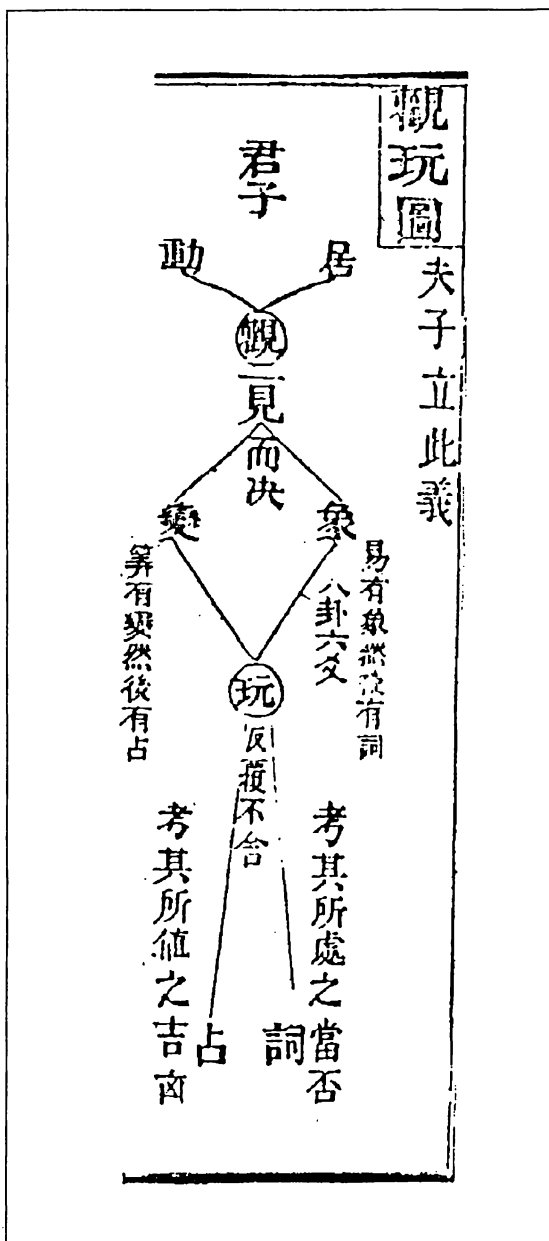


Fig. 5: Diagram illustrating a sentence in the Great Commentary [*Xici zhuan* A/2; 13th. cent.; from Wang Bo, *Yanji tu* (Diagrams exploring the beginnings)].

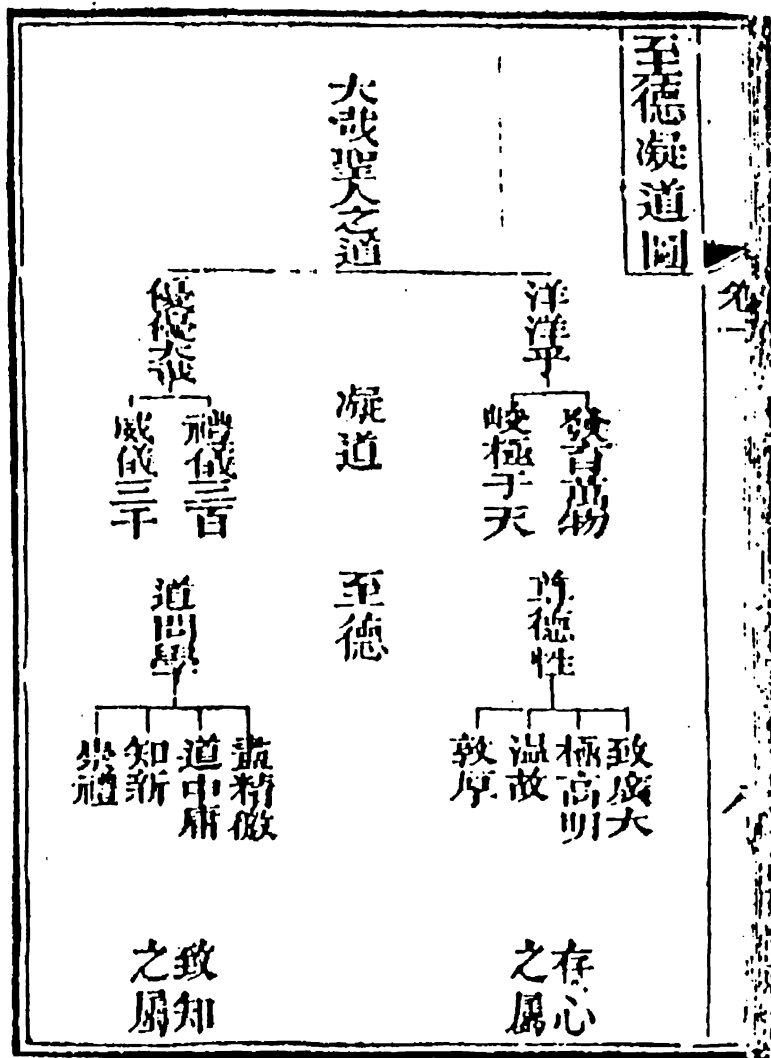


Fig. 6: Diagram illustrating a sentence in *Zhongyong* (par. 27), 13th cent., from Wang Bo, *Yanji tu* (Diagrams exploring the beginnings).

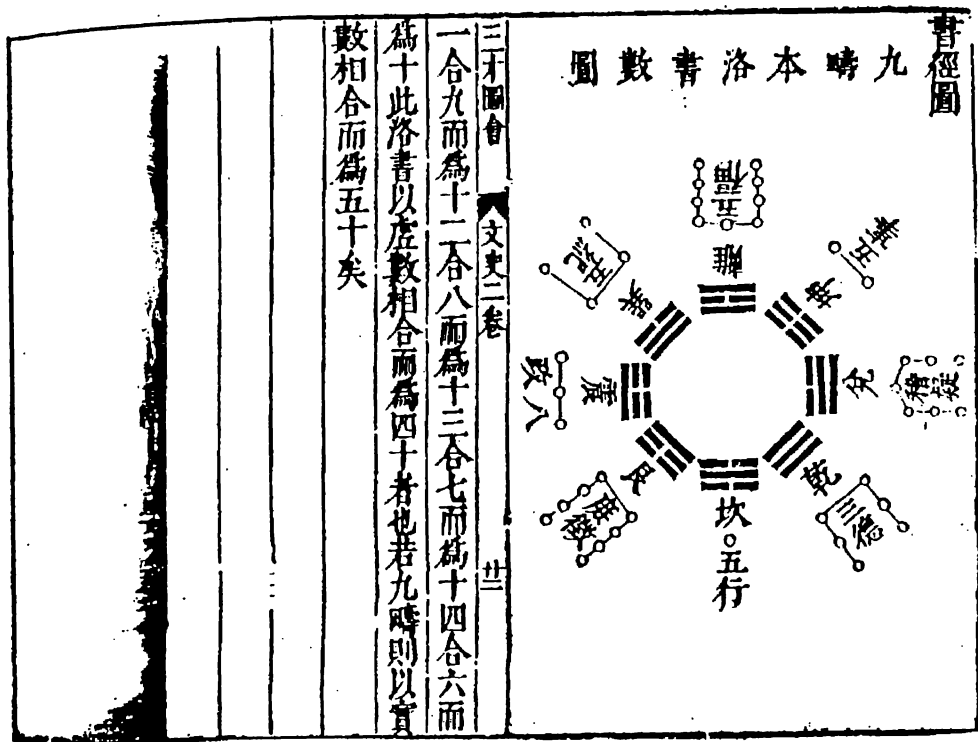


Fig. 7: Diagram illustrating the "Nine Divisions" of the Classic of Documents (*Shujing*) in accordance with the trigrams of the Classic of Changes, Ming dynasty, *Sancai tuhui* (Collected diagrams for the knowledge of Heaven, Earth, and Man).

WHAT KIND OF SCIENCE DID THE JESUITS BRING TO CHINA?

Ulrich Libbrecht

The Jesuits were the first Westerners to bring European science to China. However, they were not men of science in the usual sense of the term — with a few exceptions, as e.g. Terrentius. Jesuits actually were transmitters of the knowledge with which they had become acquainted during their own education or when already settled in China. I have tried to reconstruct the source of the scientific studies of F. Verbiest relying on the lecture notes preserved at the University of Leuven. It is clear from these that the Jesuits did not get their scientific training at any university in Europe. As they could not organise university studies themselves (this was forbidden by the Holy See), they founded a special evening school where they tried to keep pace with the most recent developments of science. Verbiest studied some mathematics and astronomy in one of these special schools, where Andreas Tacquet was his teacher. I believe that the Jesuits were in the first place self-made men of science, teaching each other and relying mainly on their important library in Peking. In this lecture we restrict ourselves to the European aspect of their education, which was still Aristotelian and Tychonian, whereas science was changing fast in the academies. This means that the Jesuits brought an obsolete science to China, but that one cannot state that they did so intentionally.

1. We believe that one of the most important facts in the introduction of European and Chinese astronomy in the seventeenth century was, next to Schall's famous *Encyclopedia on Astronomy*,¹ the building of the new instruments for the observatory in Peking by the Flemish Belgian Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest, which are still preserved there.

¹ *Xinfa lishu*, published by A. Schall and J. Rho, edited by Xu Guangqi, 26 vols., 1633.

When Father Verbiest was appointed director of the observatory in Peking, he realised that with the obsolete instruments at his disposal there, he would never be able to draw up an exact calendar. He therefore directed a petition to the emperor, complaining about this fact and suggesting that new instruments should be made according to modern European standards.

Of course in this context, we have to remember that the Chinese emperor was considered to be the link between Heaven and Earth in a concrete rather than religious, metaphysical sense. Heaven was the astronomical sky and Earth was the agricultural field. The link between the two was the calendar, for which the emperor himself was responsible, by the *tianming*, the Decree of Heaven. If he was not able to adapt Earth to Heaven, this was interpreted as a rejection of his position by Heaven. Thus, it is not difficult to imagine the political significance of this calendar, and the constant concern of Chinese emperors that it should be accurate. Moreover, the last Chinese dynasty was no longer Chinese, but Manchu (since 1644). These 'barbarians' realised from the beginning that they could not rule China from horseback, and consequently would have to rely on Chinese bureaucracy, which was completely dependent on Confucian education.

Traditional Chinese astronomers were not able to solve the calendrical problem accurately. From our modern viewpoint the reason is clear: it is the simple consequence of a basic incommensurability.² The degree of approximation depends on the accuracy of the basic measurements, and thus on the instruments themselves. Verbiest was well aware of this as were the Chinese. Infact they had never been averse to accepting barbarian help for this important purpose (using Indian or Buddhist astronomers in Tang times and Islamic-Persian ones in Yuan and Ming times), and were willing to try western astronomers too.

Thus, Verbiest's reputation (and consequently his missionary influence) was completely dependent on the accuracy of his calendar. He would never have been able to

² This means that the length of a year, a month and a day are not mutually divisible. So there is no lowest common multiple.

build up or maintain the reputation he had acquired with some earlier predictions, if he had to rely on outdated instruments from the Yuan period. Fortunately the emperor agreed to Verbiest's request and he was instructed to build the new instruments. At that point Verbiest was confronted with a dilemma: 1) Did he have the skills to carry out this order? Was his theoretical knowledge sufficient and on what information could he rely? In other words, was he sufficiently trained for the job? On what modern theoretical basis could he rely in remote Peking? How would he keep track with developments in seventeenth-century Europe? (Why, one might also wonder, did he introduce the obsolete Tychonian system, when the Copernican system was accepted by so many scientists in the West?) 2) Not being a technician, how should he go about casting these big bronze instruments?

Everybody agrees that the Jesuits brought western science to China. But, what kind of science? They were surely not professors sent by western institutions to spread western science in China. They were simply missionaries propagating Christianity by means of a very special vehicle, viz. science.

Let us take Verbiest as an example, and analyse his education.

2. *Education of Verbiest*

In the seventeenth century, Europe experienced a scientific revolution. One could imagine that Verbiest was a product of this scientific movement and consequently that he was an ambassador for the new cosmological insights. I believe that before Verbiest's time, the only real man of science who abandoned a scientific career in Europe and left Europe for China, was Terrentius,³ a member of the Accademia dei Lincei and a personal friend of many famous scientists, including Galilei. The others were mostly occasional scientists, mainly self-taught men who made use of science and technology in the framework of their missionary strategy.

³ Johann Schreck (1576-1630). Cf. L. Pfister, S.J., *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932, pp. 153-158; J. Dehergne, S.J., *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Rome, 1973, pp. 242f.

2.1. In 1640 Verbiest enrolled at the University of Leuven for one year, before entering the order of the Jesuits in 1641. In 1643-45 he returned to the Collegium Societatis Jesu in Leuven, and attended lectures at one of the faculties of Arts of the university. Only eight of the twenty-four months of study were devoted to physics. As the lecture notes of the period are preserved in the archives of the university; ⁴ we know exactly what "physics" entailed. Virtually nothing but Aristotle's *Physica* dealing with such concepts as "materia", "forma", "natura", "causa", etc. Even the *De Caelo* contains almost no astronomy, and is devoted to the perfection of the universe, the influence of the celestial bodies on terrestrial events, etc. To put it briefly, "physics" was nothing but *philosophia naturalis*. An analysis of Verbiest's geographical works and of his treatises on the thermometer and the hygrometer shows that he never overcame this Aristotelian education. ⁵ Moreover, when the controversy between Cartesianism and Aristotelism began at the university in 1650, Verbiest was already engaged in totally different activities.

As for astronomical studies, the basic work at the university was still the *Sphaera Mundi* of Sacrobosco, ⁶ written in 1233, and actually based on the Arabian works of al-Farghānī (c. 800-861) and al-Battānī (before 858-929). Some professors made modern comments, and described the new systems of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe, but on the whole the lecture notes on astronomy give a truly medieval impression.

The universities were saddled with a weighty scholastic inheritance. And still in 1675 the official dictum of the university was: "Magistri et scholares teneantur defendere doctrinam Aristotelis, nisi ubi ea Fidei nostrae repugnaverit" (Magisters and students are obliged to defend the doctrine of Aristotle, excepting where it contradicts our Faith). However, this did not prevent most of the professors from being cartesians.

⁴ Cf. G. Vanpaemel, *Echo's van een wetenschappelijke revolutie: de mechanistische natuurwetenschap aan de Leuvense Artesfaculteit (1650-1797)*, Brussels, 1986.

⁵ The thermometer and the hygrometer are instruments for measuring the aristotelian qualities of cold-hot and dry-wet, on which the four elements are based.

⁶ On Sacrobosco, see G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. II, part II, pp. 617-619.

We may conclude from these data that Verbiest did not become a man of science at the University of Leuven, as the scientific evolution took place outside the universities in academies and was guided not by the faculties but by the scientific periodicals, published by the academies, leaving the universities in a rather marginal position so that they became increasingly strongholds of conservatism - a situation that only came to an end in the nineteenth century.

2.2. The Jesuits who tried to keep track of every modern development were well aware of the low standard of science at the universities. Consequently they tried to organise colleges themselves. In this they were opposed by the universities, which claimed the monopoly of higher education. With the rapid increase in the level of scientific research at the academies, the Jesuits realised the importance of addressing this issue, and founded a special school for mathematics in Antwerp in 1615. The first professor was Gregorius of St. Vincent (1584-1667), who had studied mathematics in Rome at the Collegium Romanum with the renowned Christopher Clavius. The courses in mathematics were open to Jesuits who had completed physics at the university. In 1621 the school was transferred to Leuven, where Jan Ciermans and Willem Boelmans, students of St. Vincent, were successively professors of mathematics. Andreas Tacquet,⁷ himself a student of Boelmans, held the chair for one year in 1644, and it was then that Verbiest was one of his students.

From this short biographical note, it may be clear that Verbiest did not leave Europe as an accomplished astronomer, but had to specialise in the field after arriving in Peking in 1660.

2.3. Verbiest was ordered by Schall to come to Peking in 1660, on account of his mathematical skills. In a letter to Father Couplet dated July 5, 1660: "... me, as being (as he (= Schall) writes) well experienced in the science of mathematics...".⁸

⁷ Andreas Tacquet (1612-1660); his *Opera Mathematica* was published in Antwerp in 1669.

⁸ Published in H. Jossonb & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, Bruxelles, 1938, pp. 38-41.

One wonders where Verbiest got this reputation. But once in Peking, he clearly knew his task: with Schall as teacher, the Beitang library at hand,⁹ and the tables of Argoli brought by Clément, who had died en route, at his disposal, he soon managed to master calendrical computation. Let us not forget that following the controversy with Yang Guangxian Verbiest was under house arrest for many years, in fact until he became official astronomer in 1669. In those nine years as a self-taught scholar, he devoted his time to the study of astronomy and, from 1666, to the construction of new instruments.

Reconstruction of the contents of his home study is only possible by an analysis of his letters and by special research on the Beitang library. Thus far, the Verbiest project confirms our idea that almost all Verbiest's work was, in one way or another, tributary to this library. But, although we have Verhaeren's *Catalogue*¹⁰ at our disposal, a first-hand comparison of Verbiest's work with Beitang sources has never been undertaken.

3. *The Yixiang zhi*¹¹

In 1673 Verbiest published the *Yixiang zhi* and *Yixiang tu* in Chinese, accompanied by almost 120 technical drawings illustrating the Chinese texts. In this work Verbiest explained the construction methods and the use of the astronomical instruments still preserved in the old observatory of Peking. Although Verbiest was a kind of talented "engineer", he definitely had not learned how to cast bronze instruments in Europe. As said, the Beitang library in Peking was well equipped and Verbiest undoubtedly was able to find a lot of information. An analysis of the *Yixiang zhi* shows that Verbiest

⁹ Cf. H. Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang*, Peking, 1949.

¹⁰ The Nantang library was based on the collection of the books Trigault brought to China. After the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, it was moved to the Beitang.

¹¹ A recent study on the *Yixiang zhi* is the (not yet published) dissertation of Dr. N. Halsberghe: *Xin zhi lingtai yi xiang zhi: Vertoog over de nieuwgebouwde instrumenten op het observatorium, Ferdinand Verbiest, Beijing, 1674*, Leuven, 1992.

did not invent much, but mostly translated and adapted western works.

In the first part of the work he gives a description of all the new instruments he had built, that is the eclectic and the equatorial armillary instrument, the azimuthal instrument, the quadrant, the sextant and the celestial sphere.

As the Chinese bronze-casters had to help Verbiest construct the instruments, but had difficulty understanding the descriptions of Tycho Brahe in his *Astronomiae Instauratae* ¹² of 1602 (the best text available at the time of Verbiest's departure from Europe), Verbiest had to explain everything in Chinese. His predecessor, Adam Schall, had already written on instruments, ¹³ and so he could make use of his terminology.

One of the first problems was that the Chinese knew little about modern physics and especially statics. Verbiest had to explain how astronomical instruments were to be calibrated, stabilised, transported and how gear-wheels and pulleys made and used. He got his information from the works of Galilei ¹⁴ and Giacomo Rho S.J., ¹⁵ from the *Almagestum Novum* (1662) by J.B. Riccioli, ¹⁶ and the *Physicae Curiosae* by G. Schott. ¹⁷ For the mechanical tools he relied on P. Casati's *Terra Machinis Mota* (1655), ¹⁸ and on Galilei's *Della Mechanica* (c. 1600) ¹⁹ and *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* (1632). ²⁰ For gear-wheels he made use of S. Stevin's *De Weeghdaet* (1586). ²¹

¹² T. Brahe, *Astronomiae instauratae progymnasmata...*, Prague, 1602.

¹³ In *Huntian yishuo* (On the construction of the celestial and terrestrial globes).

¹⁴ *Trattato delle resistenze* (*Le Opere di Galileo Galilei*, vol. IX, pp. 192ff); *Le Meccaniche* (*Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 155ff).

¹⁵ Cf. Pfister, pp. 188-191. His most important works were: *Celiang quanyi* (General Treatise on Measurements), 1631, and *Bili Guijie* (Explanation of the proportion compass), 1630.

¹⁶ G.B. Riccioli, S.J. (1598-1671), *Almagestum novum astronomiam...* Bononiae, 1651.

¹⁷ C. Schott, S.J. (1608-1666), *Mechanica Hydraulicopneumatica*, 1658; *Magia Universalis Naturae et Artis*, 1672.

¹⁸ P. Casati, S.J. (1617-1707), *Terra Machinis Mota ejusque Gravitae et Dimensio dissertationes duae*, 1655.

¹⁹ *Della Scienza Meccanica* was published for the first time in French translation by Mersenne in 1634.

²⁰ Full title: *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo, Tolemaico e Copernicano*, 1632.

²¹ Leyden, 1586.

All these work were available in the Beitang library in Peking. Dr. N. Halsberge, one of the collaborators of the project, has located almost all Verbiest's sources. Some of his arithmetical data are identical to the western source.

The third chapter of the *Yixiang zhi* deals with the setting of the instruments and their assembly, devoting special attention to magnetic declination: sources are Gilbert's *De Magnete* (1600)²² and Kircher's *Ars Magnetica* (1643)²³. It also describes the method for determining the radius of the earth, derived from Clavius' *Geometria practica*;²⁴ the method for calculating distances and heights on earth relying on Riccioli; the methods for position-finding, together with the method of the loxodrome, derived from Metius' *De genuino usu ultriusque globi tractatus* (1624).²⁵

In the last part of his work Verbiest introduces China to: 1) the hygrometer, based on the works of Kircher and Santori²⁶, 2) and the thermometer.²⁷ He describes the diffraction of light in the atmosphere and the refraction indexes in water and air, giving the tables of Bettini's *Apiaria* (1642).²⁸ A last important section is devoted to the pendulum as described in Galilei and Riccioli.

All these works have been checked by the collaborators of the Verbiest project and compared with the Latin works. From this investigation we may conclude that, although not a man of science *strictu sensu*, Verbiest relied on original western sources. However, he could not rely on the most recent publications, as his sources were restricted to those available in the Beitang library (Riccioli's work of 1662 being the most recent text).

²² W. Gilbert (1540-1603), *De Magnete magneticisque corporibus et de magno magnete Tellure physiologia nova*.

²³ A. Kircher, S.J., *Magnas sive de arte magnetica opus tripartitum...*, Ed. Secunda, 1643.

²⁴ C. Clavius, S.J., (1537-1612), the editor of the *Geometria* of Euclid.

²⁵ Adriaan Metius (1571-1635).

²⁶ Cf. U. Libbrecht, "Introduction of the Hygrometer into China", Lecture given at the Congress of the History of Chinese Science, Sydney, 1986. Cf. Halsberghe, pp. 357-367.

²⁷ Cf. U. Libbrecht, "Introduction of the thermometer into China", Lecture given at the Congress of the History of Chinese Science, Peking, 1984. Cf. Halsberghe, pp. 332-356.

²⁸ M. Bettini, S.J., *Recreationum mathematicarum apiaria novissima*, 1660.

4. *The Question of Obsolete Science*

According to Duyvendak,²⁹ the science introduced by the Jesuits into China was antiquated, because it ignored the Copernican system. This view was shared by Needham³⁰ and many Chinese historians of science. Objectively speaking, it is true that the Jesuits brought an obsolete science to China, not only for what concerns the cosmological system, but also the Aristotelian interpretations, as for instance the four elements system.³¹ Indeed Verbiest did rely on the Tychonian system and his explanation of the thermo- and hygrometer were purely Aristotelian.

For the historian of science, history is more than a mere registration of facts; it is also the investigation of the causal web that resulted in these unscientific deeds performed by men of science. Let us restrict ourselves to the problem of the non-introduction of the system of Copernicus.

We have to start our discussion from the sufficiently known Galilei controversy. As soon as Galilei was able to make observations of the moons of Jupiter with a telescope in 1609, he became convinced that the Copernican system was right. However, he was condemned by the Church of Rome first in 1616 and again in 1633. It is obvious that this fact must have had a strong impact on universities and on the Jesuits order. Scholars could only choose between the antiquated system of Ptolemaeus and the intermediate system of Tycho Brahe. All progressive scholars became Tychonians. In the countries subject to the Inquisition - and these were the homelands of Schall, Rho and Verbiest - this was the choice made, whereas in Protestant countries the Copernican system was publicly defended.

Verbiest left the university in 1645, just before the controversy on the world system flamed up in 1650. The "argumenta contra systema Copernicanum" in the lecture

²⁹ J.J.L. Duyvendak, "Comments on Pasquale d'Elia's *Galileo in Cina*", *T'oung-pao* 38 (1948), pp. 321v.

³⁰ J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 444vv.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 439.

notes ³² show that the “argumenta ex ratione” were not of much value, and therefore could not convince good scholars, who were after all impressed by the great simplicity of the system. The “argumenta ex fide” were devastating for Copernicanism, because in the Holy Scripture there are at least ten passages “proving” that the earth is immobile and the sky turns around it. As a consequence, some of the professors at Leuven, who had originally been Copernicanists, “converted” to Ptolemaeism, or at least to Tychonianism. We may find it hard to understand this dissidence, but at the time there was a general principle stating that science had no right to intervene in theological questions. The idea that non-falsifiable judgements are not scientific, and consequently that religious belief belongs to another category from science, was not known in those days. Hence, a conclusion of natural science could not cancel a verdict of the Pope, because this latter had an absolute character, whereas science is built on hypotheses. And indeed, we see that from this time on the Copernican system is referred to as an hypothesis. However, those - as for instance Professor Van Velden ³³ - who had the audacity to say that Copernicanism was the only truth, were suspended. This was in 1691! (Verbiest died in 1688). Copernicanism remained censured till 1822!!

And what about the Jesuits? We have to limit our comments to a few Belgian Jesuits to illustrate the case. In 1650 the General Congregation of the Jesuits condemned sixty-five propositions, but did not reject the possibility of these being true. The thirty-fifth was: “Terre movetur moto diurnu... firmamentum stat”. Consequently all Jesuits had to reject the Copernican system. But were they all scientifically convinced that the Copernican system was false?

We know that Gregorius of St. Vincent, disciple of Clavius, attended the triumphal reception of Galilei in Rome and openly supported the new astronomical ideas, even in the period between the two condemnations of Galilei. The most interesting case is surely that of Andreas Tacquet, Verbiest’s teacher, who declared that he rejected the Copernican system,

³² These notes are preserved in the archives of the University of Leuven. Cf. Vanpaemel, pp. 36vv.

³³ Cf. Vanpaemel, pp. 75vv.

but only because of his vow of obedience, and not because of scientific arguments. In *Opera Mathematica* ³⁴ we find a full description of “De Hypothesi Terrae Motae” (p. 223), but Tacquet clearly states that all these arguments against the Copernican system are without any value. He also says that the Holy Scripture must be interpreted in a figurative sense, if there seems to be any contradiction with natural reason.

This was the schizophrenic situation of all Catholic scholars at the time. Admittedly a heroic attitude such as that of Galilei - who after all renounced his scientific conviction before the tribunal of the Church - appeals more to the imagination, but it is very unhistorical to forget that the Jesuits were in the first place priests, and only subsidiary men of science.

The situation of the Jesuits in China can only be understood against this European background. Before the condemnation of Galilei the Polish missionaries Boym ³⁵ and Smogulecki ³⁶ had — out of a kind of national pride — adhered to the system of their compatriot Copernicus. And Kirwitzer, ³⁷ who arrived in China in 1620, was a real Copernican.

Ricci died in 1610 — before the condemnation of Galilei. However, Manuel Diaz, jr. ³⁸ described the discoveries of Galilei in Chinese as early as 1614-15, a fact that proves that scientific inventions could circulate relatively fast, even in such remote times.

The case of Galilei put the Jesuits in a nasty situation: not only had he been received as a hero by the Collegium Romanum but, as a member of the Accademia dei Lincei, he was on good terms with Terrentius. ³⁹ As Terrentius was not an astronomer *stricto sensu*, he looked to Galilei for assistance. After his condemnation, Galilei refused to offer his services, and the Jesuits were obliged to contact Kepler, who agreed to help although himself a Protestant. Kepler's Rudolphine tables

³⁴ Cf. note 7.

³⁵ L. Pfister, pp. 269-277.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 262-266.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 160-161.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 106-112.

³⁹ Cf. note 2.

reached China in a handwritten copy before they were printed in Europe. The simplest solution for the Jesuits in China, and elsewhere, was to accept the theory of Tycho Brahe, even when they were Copernicans in their heart. The Copernican system was only made known in China by the French Jesuit Benoît in 1761.⁴⁰

Needham says that “after news of the condemnation (of Galilei) had reached China, a curtain descended and a return to the Ptolemaic view took place”.⁴¹ This is not a correct representation of fact: the missionaries in China chose the Tychonian system, as clearly proved by the writings of Verbiest.

Later on, the Chinese transition to the Copernican system became complicated for missionary reasons. The Jesuits were reluctant to raise doubts about the teachings of Ricci. Their purpose after all was purely religious and science was only a vehicle. That science had to stand aside for religion is clearly proved by the fact that even in 1710 a visitor of the Chinese mission prohibited Father Foucquet⁴² the transition to the new system. It is a fact that the introduction of Copernicanism into China was fully dependent on the religious situation in Europe: the Dutch brought the system to Japan in 1725, and the Protestant missionaries to China in the nineteenth century.

Another fact to keep in mind is that the only task of the astronomers in Peking was to draw up the calendar. For that purpose there is no difference between the system of Tycho and that of Copernicus. World systems are geometrical constructions, whereas the calendar is an algebraic construction, which harmonises periodicities and predicts recurrences. This requires only an algorithm.

To affirm that the Jesuits tried to obstruct the introduction of modern science is a very black-and-white representation of historical facts. For instance, the telescope was invented in Holland in around 1600, was constructed by Galilei in 1609, described in Chinese⁴³ by Manuel Diaz in 1615 and brought to

⁴⁰ Pfister, pp. 813-826.

⁴¹ Needham, pp. 445v.

⁴² Pfister, pp. 549-555.

⁴³ In *Tianwen lüe*, 1615.

China by Terrentius in 1618. Schall devoted a whole booklet ⁴⁴ to a description of it in 1626, and one was offered to the emperor in 1634.

In his *Lifa xizhuan* written before 1650 (condemnation of Copernicanism by the General Congregation of the Jesuits) Schall describes the three cosmological systems without hiding anything from the Chinese. After 1650 Verbiest described only the Tychonian system.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Verbiest undoubtedly played an important role in the transmission of western science and technology, and of astronomy in particular. However, he did so only in function of his scope as missionary. He showed some preference for spectacular gadgets, because the emperor was still very young, and Verbiest wanted to make an impression on him. He was well-informed thanks to the Beitang library and this is proved by the *Yixiang zhi*. After 1650 only very few recent scientific works were sent to China. This means that, precisely during the scientific revolution in Europe, the Jesuits in China became more and more isolated. Only after Verbiest's death, with the arrival of the 'mathématiciens du Roi', did the Jesuits receive a new collection of books donated by Louis XIV. However, when the Rites Controversy began soon after, the scientific influence of the Jesuits declined rapidly. For more than a century Peking was scientifically dead, and it was only after the Opium War (1840) that Protestant missionaries (Wylie, Mateer, Fryer,...) brought modern sciences to China.

5.2. Objectively speaking, the science brought to China by the Jesuits was obsolete. However, the history of science is not only science, but also 'history'. This means that there is also a subjective element, in this case the special situation of the Jesuit order within the context of the situation in Europe and in China. There is also the matter of 'holy tradition'. China's

⁴⁴ *Yuanjing shuo*, 1630.

decimal system was much more useful and practical than the awkward sexagesimal system (the Chinese divided the right angle in 100°); the same holds for the ecliptic system (versus the equatorial system). Everything was evolving in western science. However, in general there was the eurocentric conviction that all western conceptions were better than the Chinese, and hence a non-critical attitude concerning their own knowledge. But as for the non-introduction of the Copernican system, this surely cannot be blamed on the Jesuits.

SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE STUDY OF
CHINESE LEXICOGRAPHIC MATERIAL PREPARED BY
THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN CHINA
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY *

Federico Masini

Although much has been written about the works written in Chinese by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century, relatively little attention has been paid to issues related to their familiarity with the Chinese language, and their introduction of different western languages to the Chinese. Elsewhere, I have discussed some of the contributions to the Chinese language made by Jesuit missionaries through their use of neologisms to indicate western terms previously unknown to the Chinese.¹ Since the title of the meeting is “Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries”, I propose to discuss the prospect of further research on the huge amount of lexicographic material (mostly incomplete dictionaries in manuscript form) prepared by the Jesuit missionaries during their stay in China.²

* This paper was prepared as part of the research project “The works of the Italian missionaries active in China from the sixteenth to the twentieth century as model of cultural interchange”, financed by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche and directed by Prof. G. Bertuccioli.

¹ F. Masini, “The Legacy of Seventeenth-century Jesuit Works: Geography, Mathematics and Scientific Terminology in Nineteenth-century China”, in C. Jami & H. Delahaye eds., *L'Europe en Chine. Interactions scientifiques, religieuses et culturelles aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1993, pp. 137-146. F. Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and its Evolution toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, Monograph No. 6 of the *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, Berkeley, 1993, *passim*. F. Masini, “Aleni’s Contribution to the Chinese Language”, *International Symposium on Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) Missionary in China*, Brescia, 1994 (proceedings in print).

² Lists of lexicographic material, prepared by Jesuit and other missionaries in China, can be found in H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Paris, 1906-07, vol. III, coll. 1588-1641; Paris, 1922-24, vol. V, coll. 3906-3911; and in B. Theunissen, “Lexicographia missionaria linguae Sinensis 1550-1800”, *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* 16 (1943), pp. 220-242.

Such material can be studied from a variety of angles. Clearly dictionaries are particularly useful for reconstructing the phonological systems of the variety of Chinese language studied by the missionaries, and for studying the lexicon of the colloquial Chinese languages of the time.

The Xiru ermu zi

One of the most striking features of western culture introduced by the Jesuits was the Latin alphabet. Missionaries interested in acquiring some knowledge of the local language used the Latin alphabet to spell the sounds of the Chinese language. Latin letters were therefore used as a tool to memorise Chinese sounds.³

The first work that extensively demonstrated to the Chinese the advantages of a writing system based on the sound of the language was the *Xiru ermu zi* (Aid for the ears and the eyes of western literati), written by Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) with the assistance of Chinese scholars, such as Han Yun and Wang Zheng. The book is remarkable from many points of view: it was completed in only five months, and published in Hangzhou in 1626 with five prefaces: by Zhang Chongfang, Han Yun, Wang Zheng, Zhang Wenda and Trigault himself. It consists of three volumes with 425 folios *recto* and *verso* (135 + 155 + 135). Interestingly, at the end of volume one and at the beginning of volumes two and three there are tables of contents indicating not only the sections (as was usual in Chinese tradition) but also the page numbers. To my knowledge this was an absolute novelty for Chinese books.

Volume one, *Yiyin shoupu*, contains the theoretical part of the work and provides a detailed description of western phonetics. The authors present a table of 5 vowels (*ziming*) and 24 consonants (*tongming*),⁴ explaining how they are combined to convey the many different sounds of each language (*wanguo yinyun*). This is followed by a table indicating the sounds of the

³ Regarding the diffusion of the Latin alphabet in China, see in particular Fang Hao, "Ladingwen chuanru Zhongguo", in *Fang Hao liushi ziding gao*, Taipei, 1961, vol. I, pp. 1-38.

⁴ *Tongming* is a loan-translation from the Latin *consonans*, *consonantis*.

Chinese language. The sounds contained in the first table are used to spell all the Chinese phonemes, excluding only the five unvoiced consonants not used in Chinese (*taguo yong Zhonghua bu yong*).⁵ The five tones and the aspiration are correctly marked, though, as we shall see later, not for the first time. Table three shows all the possible combinations of the 20 consonants with the 50 final syllables according to each of the five tones. Of these, only 1403 are used and represented by characters. Other aspects of Chinese phonology are also analysed and discussed in volume one.

Volumes two and three are the actual dictionary. Volume two, *Lie yinyun pu*, is a dictionary of Chinese characters according to their pronunciation. For example, it allows the determination of the possible graphemes of the sound “xa” (*sha*). Volume three, *Lie bianzheng pu*, is a dictionary of Chinese characters according to their written form, allowing the determination of the pronunciation of each character. Complete original copies of volumes two and three (but not one) are preserved in three European libraries. Perhaps volume one was considered too theoretical to be of interest.⁶

Twenty-nine letters of the European alphabet plus one sign of aspiration and five marks for the tones proved sufficient for a consistent analysis of the phonology of the Chinese language. The Chinese greatly admired what to them was a remarkable discovery inherited by Latin from the Greek: an entirely phonetic system of writing.

The well-known Chinese linguist, Luo Changpei, was the first to use Trigault's romanisations of Chinese sounds to study the phonological system of early seventeenth-century Chinese and to make a careful analysis of the spelling system employed in the *Xiru ermu zi*.⁷

⁵ *Xiru ermu zi*, *Yiyin shoupu*, f. 4v, reprinted in *Pinyin wenzi shiliao congshu*, Beijing, 1957, p. 56.

⁶ Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Gen. Or. 289/5 (although the title of volume I is indicated in the frontispiece, the text is that of volume III) and Borg. Cin. 440 (volume II), 441 (volume III); Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, 72. C. 483, 1-2 (volumes II-III) and Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Chinois 3087, 3088 (volumes II-III).

⁷ Luo Changpei, “Yesu huishi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian”, *Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan liyusuo jikan* I (1930), pp. 267-338. After Luo Changpei, the book was studied by many others Chinese, Japanese and western scholars,

Luo Changpei also noted Trigault's introduction:

"When I arrived in China, I devoted myself day and night to the aim of using the language and the writing to communicate the same principle. However when I first heard this new language, my ears didn't comprehend (*ming*), and when I looked at these new letters, my eyes didn't understand (*ting*) ... To overcome my dumbness and blindness, I set a musical system and since it was not a real method I decided to call it simply an "Aid for the ears and the eyes". However I am only passing it on since I didn't create it. In truth it was started by my brother Jesuits, Matteo Ricci, Lazzaro Cattaneo and Diego Pantoja. I have only stolen it from my old friends".

Ricci's Romanisation and Dictionaries

Luo Changpei could only compare Trigault's romanisation with the system employed by Ricci in his *Xizi qiji* (Strange

probably becoming the most studied single Jesuit Chinese book: Luo Xintian, "Zhongguo yinyunxue de wailai yingxiang", *Dongfang zazhi* XXXII, 14 (1935), pp. 35-45. Okunaka Kôzô, "«Seiju jimokushi» to Kanji no kyôonhô", *Onseigakkaihô* 41 (1936), pp. 11-13. Zhang Shilu, *Zhongguo yuyinxue shi*, Shanghai, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 330-332. Zhang Shilu, "Xiyang xuezhe duiyu Zhongguo yuyinxue de gongxian", *Wenhua xianfeng* IX, 2 (1939), pp. 175-177. Lu Zhiwei, "Jinnige «Xiru ermu zi» suo ji de yin", *Yanjing xuebao* XXXIII (1947), pp. 115-128, 318. Yang Daojing, "Tan «Xiru ermu zi»", *Zhongguo yuwen* 4 (1957), coverpage. P. Fu-mien Yang S.J., "The Catholic Missionary Contribution to the Study of Chinese Dialects", *Orbis* 9, 1 (1960), pp. 158-185. Chang Feng-chen (Mark) S.J., "Mingmo Qingchu Tianzhujiao chuanjiaoshi de sanzong yuyinxue zhuzuo", *Zhonghua xueshuyuan Tianzhujiao xueshu yanjiusuo xuebao*, *Bulletin of the Catholic Research Institute* 1 (1969), pp. 109-116. Xie Yunfei, "Jinnige Xiru ermu zi xi lun", *Nanyang daxue xuebao* 8-9 (1975), pp. 66-83. Li Xinkui, "Ji biao xian Shanxi fangyin de «Xiru ermu zi»", *Yuwen yanjiu* 1 (1982), pp. 126-129. Li Sijing, *Hanyu er yin shi yanjiu*, Beijing, 1986, pp. 52-54. Luo Shen-yi, "Les premiers systèmes de notation alphabétique utilisés dans les études de phonologie chinoise", in *Actes du V^e Colloque International de Sinologie de Chantilly*, Chantilly, 1986, pp. 191-200. Chen Liang-chi, *Eine funktionell-strukturelle und historisch-vergleichende Untersuchung des Xi Ru Er Mu Zi - Eine vergleichende Studie zur traditionellen chinesischen Lexikographie*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde des Fachbereichs II: Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften der Universität Trier, 1987 (I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. S. Breitenbach of the University of Trier for having sent me this text). Zeng Xiaoyu, "Shilun «Xiru ermu zi» de jichu ji Mingdai guanhua de biaozhunyin", *Xinan shifan daxue xuebao* 1 (1991), pp. 57-65. Zeng Xiaoyu, "«Xiru ermu zi» de diaozhi nice", *Yuyan yanjiu* 2 (1992), pp. 132-136. Mai Yun, "«Xiru ermu zi» meiyou erhuayin de jilu", *Yuwen yanjiu* 4 (1994), pp. 49-51, 14.

examples of western writing), printed in Peking in 1605. In this 15-page collection of three biblical stories plus a short essay, the pronunciation of each character is indicated in Latin letters alongside the Chinese text. The stories and the essay were originally prepared by Ricci to describe the four paintings donated to the ink-merchant Cheng Dayue. The collection has also been studied for its artistic value, by B. Laufer, P. Pelliot, P. D'Elia and J. J. L. Duyvendak who published a complete and new translation in 1940.⁸

Luo Changpei established that the 387 different syllables employed by Ricci in the *Xizi qiji* were the same as those employed by Trigault. There were only 29 exceptions. The marks for the tones and aspirations were also the same as those used in the *Xiru ermu zi*. More recently, Paul Fu-mien Yang S.J. has analysed Ricci's romanisation system in the *Xizi qiji* and compared it with the system used in a possibly earlier work in manuscript by Ricci, entitled *Dizionario portoghese-cinese* discovered by D'Elia in the Jesuit Archives in Rome in 1934.⁹ The dictionary is 125 leaves long (*recto* and *verso*) and is divided into three columns: the first contains a list of Portuguese words (approximately 6000), the second, a transcription with no indication either of tones or aspiration (unlike *Xiru ermu zi* and *Xizi qiji*); and the third, the corresponding Chinese equivalent for most of the Portuguese words (5461) plus some examples.

It is difficult to establish exactly when the dictionary was compiled. According to D'Elia and Yang, it was prepared between 1583-1588, when Ruggieri and Ricci were in Zhaoqing

⁸ B. Laufer, "Christian Art in China", *Sonderabdruck aus den Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, 1910, pp. 7-14; P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* XX (1921), pp. 2-5; P. Pelliot, *ivi*, XXII (1924), p. 365, note 1; P. D'Elia, *Le Origini dell'Arte Cristiana Cinese*, Roma, 1939. J. J. L. Duyvendak, *T'oung Pao* XXXV, pp. 385-398 (Review of D'Elia's aforementioned work).

⁹ ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.* I, 198, ff. 32-156. P. Fu-mien Yang S.J., "The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary by Matteo Ricci: A Historical and Linguistic Introduction", *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology. Section on Linguistics and Palaeography*, Taipei, 1989, pp. 191-236. P. D'Elia S.J., "Il primo dizionario europeo-cinese e la fonetizzazione italiana del cinese", *Atti del XIX Congresso degli Orientalisti*, Roma, 1938, pp. 172-178. P. D'Elia S.J. ed., *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. II, Roma, 1949, pp. 32-33.

in the Guangdong province, and was probably brought to Rome by Ruggieri in 1588.

D'Elia, however, has confused this text with the "bello vocabulario" written, as Ricci himself tells us, with the Chinese priest Sebastiano Fernandes (1562-1621) and Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640) on the journey from Peking to Nanking in November 1598.¹⁰ In the same passage, Ricci also indicates that Cattaneo determined the phonetic substance of the five Chinese tones and chose five marks of accent and one mark of aspiration ("cinque varietà di accenti et un modo d'aspirazione") to transcribe the Chinese sounds.

Daniello Bartoli goes into more detail in his *Dell'Istoria della Compagnia di Giesù. La Cina. Terza Parte dell'Asia* (Roma, 1663), stating that, during the month spent onboard ship from Peking to Linqing in the Shandong province, Ricci had completed a work begun some years earlier, that is "a complete vocabulary" (un pieno Vocabolario), in which, next to the Chinese characters, he indicated their meaning and the pronunciation "in European letters".¹¹ Bartoli also explains how Ricci and Cattaneo determined and marked the Chinese tones. "Having the vocabulary in front and Father Lazzaro Cattaneo, who knew music well, on one side, Ricci pronounced the words with their original tones, while Cattaneo measured the words according to their singing notes. Therefore they accordingly noted the tones ... After having completed this vocabulary, called *Sinicoeuropeo*, Father Ricci, from then on, forbade by decree the other missionaries from arbitrarily creating marks in order to distinguish the tones and the aspirations, as happened in the past ...".¹² As Trigault was

¹⁰ P. D'Elia S.J. ed., *ibidem*.

¹¹ "Ciò fatto, pose a lato d'ogni carattere il suo significato, e quivi anco il pronunziarlo espresso in lettera europea", Bartoli, vol. II, p. 99.

¹² "Quegli ne pronunziava le voci coll'originale loro tuono, e questi li misurava colle note del canto; com'era debito a ciascuna, le accentavano in iscritto (...) Così divise a una per una tutte le parole di quel Vocabolario, che si chiamò Sinicoeuropeo, il P. Ricci per decreto vietò, che niun de'Padri all'avvenire usasse l'antica libertà d'inventar segni ad arbitrio, con che distinguere i tuoni e gli spiriti delle voci: e in tal modo le fatiche di ciascuno, che sel copiava, morendo egli, restassero in eredità giovevole all'altro, che da Macao o dall'India si chiamasse a succedergli", *Ibidem*.

preparing the book in Hangzhou in 1625-1626, and Cattaneo was there in the same period, it seems quite feasible to suppose that they discussed the book.

As far as we know, the vocabulary has been lost as we have no definite evidence of its existence after 1681. Henri Bernard's catalogue of the works written by western missionaries in China for the year 1598 indicates: "Ricci et Cattaneo, 'Vocabulaire rédigé à la manière européenne suivant l'ordre alphabétique [des romanisations] et composé en tenant compte des accents [et des aspirations]'.¹³ Bernard based his claim on Philippe Couplet's catalogue of 1681, *Catalogus Patrum Societati Jesu*. The heading "P. Lazarus Cataneus" is followed by the words *Proelum expectant* (waiting to be printed): "Vocabularium ordine alphabetico europaeo more concinnatum et per accentus suos digestum".¹⁴

This vocabulary has since been identified as the one that Athanasius Kircher was prepared to publish in 1667.¹⁵

In *China illustrata*, Kircher credited Diego Pantoja for determining the quality of Chinese tones according to musical notes.¹⁶ Diego Pantoja (1571-1618) the Spanish missionary, who assisted Matteo Ricci in Peking from 1601 until his death

¹³ H. Bernard, "Les adaptations chinoises d'ouvrages européens. Bibliographie chronologique depuis la venue des Portugais à Canton jusqu'à la Mission française de Pékin 1514-1688", *Monumenta Serica* X (1945), pp. 1-57, 309-388.

¹⁴ P. Couplet, *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu qui post obitum S. Francisci Xaveri ad Anno 1581 usque ad Annum 1681 in Imperio Sinarum Jesu Christi Fidem propugnarunt* in F. Verbiest, *Astronomia Europea*, Dilingae, 1687, pp. 102-103. There is no indication of the text in the Chinese work *Zhengjiao xinzheng*, 1647, f. 3v, edited by Han Lin and Zhang Geng, which was a Couplet source. According to Bernard, it was recopied in Manila in 1641. Cf. also L. Pfister, *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur le Jésuites de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine 1552-1773*, vol. I, Shanghai, 1932, p. 56, no. 4.

¹⁵ "12. Dictionarum Sinicum, pro usu nostrorum, cujus exemplar apud me est, quod & libenter luci publicae darem si sumptus in eo faciendi suppeterent", A. Kircher, *China illustrata*, Amsterdam, 1667, p. 118.

¹⁶ "P. Jacobus Pantoja primus notas invenit; quas supra Euraopaeo modo scriptas dictiones Sinicas, sequenti modo exprimunt A, -, \, /, U", p. 236. The source used by Kircher was probably the manuscript *Liber de formandarum litterarum ratione*, part of a larger work entitled *Delucidatio summaria rerum Sinicarum*. Cf. B. Szczesniak, "The Writings of Michael Boym", *Monumenta Serica* XIV, 31, pp. 481-538 (p. 499). See also D.E. Mungello, *Curious Land. Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Honolulu, 1985, p. 157.

in 1610, was the third “old friend” mentioned by Trigault, yet there is no indication in any of the few sources available on Pantoja’s activity in China of his having devised a Chinese spelling system or written a Chinese dictionary. In an article published in 1987 by Fernando Mateos, Diego Pantoja is suggested as the possible author of a Chinese-Castilian vocabulary of 600 pages in manuscript written at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. The vocabulary is called the *Abecedario chino*. Unfortunately there is no reference or source for this statement.¹⁷ In *Museum Sinicum* of 1730, G. S. Bayer indicates that, although Kircher considered Pantoja the first to use the marks for aspiration and the five tones, Cattaneo in fact had been the first to detect them.¹⁸

Thus the data so far available on Ricci’s second dictionary may be summarised as follows:

a) It was written by Ricci before November 1598. He had completed it in Linqing adding tones and aspirations together with Cattaneo and the Chinese priest Sebastiano Fernandes, a native of Macao, who had studied some Latin with Ricci.¹⁹

b) It was a Chinese-European language vocabulary (possibly arranged according to the spelling?). Next to the Chinese characters, we find an indication of meaning and pronunciation, with tones and aspirations. We do not know which European language was employed for the translations, possibly Latin or Portuguese.²⁰

c) It was Ricci’s intention that the Chinese romanisation employed in his second dictionary would be used as the standard system by future generations of missionaries.

d) We have proof of the existence of the dictionary (in Kircher’s hands in Rome) at least until 1667, and it is referred

¹⁷ F. Mateos, “Apuntes para la Historia de la Lexicografía Chino-Española”, in M. Ariza, A. Salvador, A. Viudas ed., *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, Cáceres, 30 de marzo - 4 de abril de 1987, pp. 927-941.

¹⁸ G. S. Bayer, *Museum Sinicum*, Petropoli, 1730, vol. I, pp. 9-10.

¹⁹ J. Dehergne S.J., *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma, 1973, no. 295. P. D’Elia S.J. ed., *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. II, pp. 290-291, note 1.

²⁰ Yang, “The Portuguese-Chinese...”, p. 210, asserts that it was a Chinese-Portuguese dictionary but gives no evidence of this.

to by Couplet in 1681.

The studies already conducted on the early systems of Chinese romanisation can be summarised as follows:

1) Trigault's system of romanisation in *Xiru ermu zi* differs from the ones used by Ricci in his Portuguese-Chinese dictionary and later in *Xizi qiji*. These systems of romanisation have already been successfully compared by Luo Changpei and Paul Fu-mien Yang.

2) If Ricci's second dictionary is ever rediscovered, it will be possible to further compare this and the other three systems (Ricci's Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, *Xizi qiji* and *Xiru ermu zi*).

The Dictionnaire Chinois & François

A careful analysis of the first Chinese dictionary ever printed in Europe, the *Dictionnaire Chinois & François*, appended to the French translation of Kircher's *China illustrata*,²¹ is also useful for a further study of early Chinese systems of romanisation. The dictionary has already attracted the interest of many scholars originating a long-lasting controversy as to its attribution to the Polish Jesuit missionary Michael Boym. R. Chabrié was the first to attribute the dictionary to Boym in 1933. This was then questioned by P. Pelliot in 1935, and vehemently asserted by B. Szczesniak on several occasions in the course of the next two decades and again adamantly refused by W. Simon in 1959²². The Chinese-French dictionary was definitely not compiled by Boym, who was responsible for

²¹ *La Chine d'Athanase Kircher de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Traduit par F. S. Dalquié, Amsterdam, 1670, pp. 324-367.

²² R. Chabrié, *Michel Boym jésuite polonais et la fin des Ming en Chine (1646-1662)*, *Contribution à l'histoire des missions d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1933. P. Pelliot, "Michel Boym", *T'oung Pao* XXXI (1935), pp. 95-151, see pp. 136-137. B. Szczesniak, "The Beginning of Chinese Lexicography in Europe with Particular Reference to the Work of Michael Boym (1612-1659)", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 67 (1947), pp. 160-165. B. Szczesniak, "The Writings of Michael Boym". B. Szczesniak, "The First Chinese Dictionary Published in Europe", in D. Sinor ed., *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch, Semi-Centennial Volume*, Bloomington, 1969, pp. 217- 227. W. Simon, "The Attribution to Michael Boym of Two Early Achievements of Western Sinology", *Asia Mayor VII*, Arthur Waley Anniversary Volume, London, 1959, pp. 165-169.

the transcription of the Xi'anfu Stele, included by Kircher in his *China illustrata*. None of the aforementioned scholars have tried to research in depth the specific features and peculiarities of the dictionary, which indeed deserves special attention.

I have already embarked upon an in-depth study of the dictionary and hope to be able to publish a detailed analysis of the text, complete with the corresponding Chinese characters, in the near future. For the time being, I shall simply hint at some of its peculiarities.

a) The romanisation system employed by the unknown editor seems quite consistent with the one used by Ricci in *Xizi qiji*, as reconstructed by Paul Fu-mien Yang and indicated by him as "Ricci's final system of romanisation".

b) Regarding the dictionary, in 1935 Pelliot wrote: "Il ne paraît pas exclu que ce soit ce dictionnaire attribué à Ricci qui, sans les caractères chinois, et avec une version française des explications, a été enfin publié dans la traduction française de la *China illustrata*. Mais, en soi, ce type de dictionnaire est connu par une série de manuscrits, représentant des états maintes fois remaniés, que j'ai retrouvés surtout à la Bibliothèque Vaticane. L'étude comparative de ces divers dictionnaires n'a pas été entreprise".²³ Since a large collection of Chinese dictionaries in manuscript is held in both the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, a thorough search will eventually bring to light the original version of the dictionary, that might also provide an indication of the corresponding characters for each entry (not included in the version published).

A careful comparison between the lexical items contained in the Chinese-French dictionary and those in Ricci's Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, and between the romanisation system used in the former dictionary and "Ricci's final system" employed in the *Xizi qiji* will eventually throw new light on Pelliot's clever hypothesis.

c) Since there are many misprints, especially in diacritical signs and tone marks, the dictionary may well have been printed unsupervised by the person responsible for collecting

²³ Pelliot, "Michel Boym", p. 137.

the lexical material. Presumably, the missionary who had sent or brought the text in manuscript to Europe was not able to follow the process of printing after *China illustrata* had been translated into French.

d) As indicated by Pelliot and Simon, the lexical material - words and phrases - included in the dictionary is mostly drawn from the colloquial Mandarin language of the time plus (as in Ricci's Portuguese-Chinese dictionary) some words borrowed from other non-Mandarin colloquial languages, or even from classical language. The Chinese-French dictionary is therefore an extremely valuable source for researching the lexicon of colloquial Chinese of the time. It is well-known that traditional Chinese dictionaries only registered monosyllabic words of the official literary and classical language. Since the dictionary was probably compiled by a missionary as an aid for learning the colloquial language, it contains mostly polysyllabic words, such as, "Sum çam (*songzang*), accompagner à la sepulture, assister aux funerailles" (p. 325) and phrases of daily use, such as: "çai na li chu (*zai nali zhu*), où demeure-t'il, où loge-t'il, où est sa maison" (p. 324).

As traditional Chinese dictionaries were collections of characters but not words, the lexicons prepared by missionaries can be regarded as the forerunners of the first modern Chinese dictionaries of Chinese words only published at the beginning of this century, thanks, first to the Protestant missionaries and, then, to the Japanese.

The works left by the Jesuit missionaries are a mine of information, not only for the study of China but also for the study of the Chinese language.

MATTEO RICCI AND THE FIFTIETH MASTER OF HEAVEN, ZHANG GUOXIANG

Marina Miranda

1. *The Jesuits' Policy of Accommodation*

When M. Ricci (1552-1610) reached China in the late sixteenth century several choices were open to him with regard to the Jesuit missionary strategy of "accommodation". Taoism, together with Confucianism and Buddhism, were institutionalised as the three religions (*sanjiao*), according to the official view that their teachings were fundamentally in agreement.

Ricci and his fellow Brother, M. Ruggieri (1543-1607), as it is well known, at first opted to play the part of "foreign bonzes": therefore, during their stay in Zhaoqing from 1583 to 1589, they made their first efforts of missionary accommodation by dressing as Buddhist monks. Ricci appears to have made this choice in view of the many similarities with Christianity that Buddhism offered: it was a revealed religion with doctrinal teachings and deified figures, with beliefs in a future after death and monastic organisations.

Some years later (about 1591), Ricci became aware that Confucianism and not Buddhism was the dominant doctrine in China, being the doctrine of the class of the officials. Moreover, Buddhist priests seemed to be less highly regarded than Confucian scholars, especially if they held office. He therefore chose to disguise himself as a Confucian, so as to be taken by educated Chinese for a scholar from distant western lands. He must have had in mind something like a synthesis of

* This paper is based on the lecture I gave during the Conference and differs from the text of a similar article placing more emphasis on the life and works of Zhang Guoxiang. It appeared on *East and West* (XLIV, 2-4, Dec. 1994, pp. 405-423) and was prepared as part of the research programme "Catalogation of Taoist Texts", financed by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche and directed by Prof. G. Bertuccioli.

Confucianism and Christianity, without probably understanding much of the former's religious aspects. This change of attitude took place at the time Ricci started his study of the Four Books and was sanctioned by A. Valignano (1538-1606), the Visitor Father, in 1594.¹

The question whether Ricci's rejection of Buddhism was a wise choice or not has been discussed by many scholars. According to J. Gernet,² who analyses Ricci's accommodation method in terms of practical success, his dismissal of Buddhism was a mistake. This opinion is not shared by D. E. Mungello,³ who emphasises the positive elements in his Confucian-Christian synthesis. Moreover J. Shi S.J.⁴ has shown that Ricci's fellow Brother, M. Ruggieri, completely disagreed with Ricci's decision to recant his Buddhist identity. From the evidence of the letters which he wrote to his superior,⁵ Ruggieri seems to have been favourable to the religion of the Chinese people (as distinguished from that of the "scholars"), which, as we have seen, was a synthesis of Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian teachings. Ruggieri also stressed that the lifestyle of the Buddhist monks was austere and frugal, refusing wealth and personal property. This discipline was more in keeping with the Christian faith than the lifestyle of the scholars and officials, who were after power and riches.

Later, Ruggieri's ideas were entirely endorsed by the Franciscan and Dominican orders in China. J. Shi's analysis was further developed by J. Beckmann,⁶ who also stresses the importance of Taoism in Ruggieri's accommodation to Chinese religion.

¹ P. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, Roma, 1942, vol. 1, pp. 145-336.

² J. Gernet, *Chine et christianisme - Action et réaction*, Paris, 1982, p. 25.

³ D. E. Mungello, *Curious Land - Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Honolulu, 1985, p. 66.

⁴ J. Shi, S. J., *Le Père Ruggieri et le problème de l'évangélisation en Chine*, Roma, 1964.

⁵ P. Tacchi Venturi S. J. (ed.), *Opere Storiche del Padre Matteo Ricci*, S. J., Macerata, 1911-13, 2 vols., pp. 396-450.

⁶ J. Beckmann S.M.B., "Die Katholischen Missionäre und der Taoismus", *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* XXVI, 1970, pp. 1-17.

2. Ricci's Attitude towards Taoism

Ricci often refers in his works and letters to his relations with Confucian scholars and officials, among whom there seem to have been a few rather high ranking ones. He also sometimes alludes to his contacts with Buddhist monks, while on the contrary he never speaks of having been in touch with any Taoist personality. In his works he does not even mention the most important Taoist texts, the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* and follows the official propaganda in condemning Taoist alchemy. In those times, this art and all the practices by which immortality was supposed to be attained - physical discipline and spiritual hygiene - were officially denounced as "fantastic exercises", which had the effect of shortening, rather than lengthening, the lives of the devotees.⁷

It may be that Ricci had learned to look down on Taoism from his Confucian acquaintances; were this the case, however, it appears rather strange that he should have spoken highly of the two Confucian scholars he had met,⁸ Jiao Hong (1541-1620) and Li Zhi (1527-1602). The former⁹ was interested in Taoism, as proved by his works on Laozi and Zhuangzi¹⁰ and by references to Taoist subjects in his other writings.¹¹ Li Zhi, "the most independent and courageous thinker of the day",¹²

⁷ *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. 1, p.129.

⁸ *Ibidem*, vol. 2, pp. 65-68.

⁹ A.W.Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington, 1943, pp. 145-46; Zhang Tingyu, ed., *Mingshi*, repr. *Zhonghua shuju*, Peking 1974, *juan* 228, vol. 24, pp. 7392-94; Rong Zhaozu, "Jiao Hong ji qi sixiang", *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies* XXIII, June 1938, pp. 1-45.

¹⁰ Jiao Hong's works on Laozi and Zhuangzi are the *Laozi yi*, in six *juan* and the *Zhuangzi yi*, in eight *juan*. They were both included in the *Xu Daozang* (see next note no. 24), respectively fascicles 1115-1116 and 1117-1120 (see next note no. 40). See also Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng, eds., *Daozang tiyao*, Peking, 1991, pp. 1175-76.

¹¹ One of these writings is the *Jiaoshi bi cheng*, published in the *Yueya tang congshu diyi ji* (1850), in 6 *juan* plus *xu* 8 *juan*. It is a collection of notes on the most various subjects, including medicine (*juan* 5), the different schools of Confucianism and Taoism (*xu*, *juan* 2), Nanking and its surroundings (*xu*, *juan* 8), in which the main Taoist texts (*Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Baopuzi*) are often quoted and anecdotes on the famous mountain, Maoshan, are recorded.

¹² *Mingshi*, *juan* 221, vol. 19, pp. 5817-19; C.L. Goodrich & Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biographies, 1368-1644*, New York, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 807-18; O.Franke, "Li Tschhi und Matteo Ricci", *Abhandlungen der Preussischen*

although very much indebted to Buddhism, was also interested in Taoism.¹³ Both of them openly advocated a syncretistic attitude towards the three religions and had many interesting exchanges of opinions on religious matters with Ricci, when he arrived in Nanking in 1599. One may wonder therefore why Ricci's friendship with them did not help to soften the hostile attitude against Taoism which he manifests in his writings nor induce him to establish any relationship with Taoist personalities. Only once, in 1595, while staying in Nanzhang, did Ricci pay a visit to a famous Taoist temple, the Tiezhu gong. He considered the experience so negative that he resolved never to set foot in one again.¹⁴

Ricci's attitude towards Taoism and his acceptance of China's official ideology greatly influenced later missionaries and synologists. The former scarcely refer to Taoism in their works during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the few who seems to have been interested in this doctrine was the Franciscan Basilio Brollo (1648-1704).¹⁵ This negative attitude may have been the reason why a complete translation of the *Daode jing* had to wait for the advent of scientific synology with S. Julien in 1842.¹⁶

As we have already said, there is no record in Ricci's writings of his contacts with any Taoist personality. In one passage only of his journal¹⁷ however he explicitly refers to the Master of Heaven (*Tianshi*), the head of the Zhengyi order, who lived on Longhu shan (Jiangxi).¹⁸ Ricci writes in his journal:

Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938, no. 5, pp. 1-24; W. T. de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Ming Thought", in Id., ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York, 1970, pp. 188-225.

¹³ Li Zhi wrote a commentary to the *Book of Changes*, the *Yi yin* in six *juan*. It was included in the *Xu Daozang* (see next note no. 24), fascicles 1097-1100. See also *Daozang tiyao*, pp. 1164-65.

¹⁴ *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. 1, p. 347. See also G. Bertuccioli, "Matteo Ricci and Taoism", *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese-Western Cultural Interchange in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of M. Ricci, S.J. in China*, Taipei, 1983, pp. 41-49.

¹⁵ B. Brollo, "Lettera ad Andrea Brollo, da Xiangfu, del 13.8.1703", in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. IV/2, Roma, 1961, p. 1190.

¹⁶ S. Julien, *Le Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu*, Paris, 1842.

¹⁷ *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. 1, pp. 130-31.

¹⁸ Among the different schools that existed during the Ming period, the most influential were the Zhengyi order and the Quanzhen order. See K. M. Schipper, *Le corps Taoiste*, Paris, 1982, pp. 28-29.

"This sect recognized Ciam as its original high priest, and he is believed to have handed down his office and the dignity that accompanies it by right of hereditary succession, over a period of a thousand years up to the present time."¹⁹

And also: "Their present leader spends most of his time in Peking. He is a recognized favourite of the King and is even admitted to the most secret chambers of the palace for effecting ceremonies of exorcism, if it is suspected that these rooms are haunted by evil spirits. He is borne through the streets in an open palanquin, wears the paraphernalia of the highest magistrates, and receives a lavish generous annual stipend from the crown. One of our neophytes informs us that the present prelates of this sect are so ignorant that they do not even know their own unholy hymns and rites."²⁰

Since Ricci remained in Peking from 1601 until his death in 1610, we can presume that the Master of Heaven he spoke of must have been Zhang Guoxiang (d.1611), hereditary *Tianshi* of the fiftieth generation, who spent thirteen years in the capital and enjoyed the patronage of the Shenzong emperor (1572-1619).

We do not know the exact years which Zhang Guoxiang spent in Peking: his biography from the *Lidai Zhang Tianshi zhuan*²¹ only says that he lived there for thirteen years. In the same text we learn that in 1601 the emperor granted him an official rank. By 1609, when a flood ravaged Guiqi county damaging the halls of Shangqing palace, he had already gone back to Longhu shan. So we can deduce that his sojourn in Peking almost coincided with that of Ricci.

Ricci must surely have come across Zhang Guoxiang several times, though he never seems to have talked with him directly. We may picture the Taoist and the Jesuit crossing

¹⁹ L. J. Gallagher, S.J. ed., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610*, New York, 1942, pp. 103-104. I quote the English translation which, being based on the Latin one by Trigault, differs in some points from Ricci's original.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ Zhang Yuanxian, *Lidai Zhang Tianshi zhuan*, Taibei, 12th edit., 1990, pp. 79-80. The same text can also be read in Fu Qinjia, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, Shanghai, 1937, vol. 2, pp. 86-87, although somewhat abridged. A short biography can also be found in the *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of the fifth year of Qianlong (1740), edited by Lou Jinyuan (see next note no. 31), *juan* 6, ff. 38r-v.

paths: the former, riding in an open palanquin, with a suite, wearing the insignia of the highest magistrates; the latter, faring not quite so well and pondering sadly on the powerful position of the religion he was out to fight.

3. *The Main Accomplishments in Zhang Guoxiang's Life*

Biographical data about Zhang Guoxiang are hard to come by. Some texts, as the *Mingshi* (History of the Ming Dynasty),²² the *Mingshi gao* (Draft History of the Ming Dynasty)²³ do refer to him, but only very concisely. The biographies of the Masters of Heaven included in the *Xu Daozang* (Supplement to the Taoist Canon)²⁴ only go up to 1565, i.e. the biography of the forty-ninth Master, but they are continued in the *Bu Tianshi shijia* (The Completed Biographies of the Masters of Heaven), which end with the biography of the sixty-first Master.²⁵ The biographical information contained in the latter source is not very useful from the historical point of view, having been written in a hagiographical spirit. I also consulted other sources, such as the *Shilu* (Veritable Records) of the Ming dynasty of the periods of reign of Longqing (1567-1572) and Wanli (1573-1620),²⁶ the *Guoque fu beiyong lu*,²⁷ written by Tan Qian (1594-1568) and the local gazetteers of Jiangxi province (*Jiangxi tongzhi*),²⁸ of

²² *Mingshi*, juan 299 (187), vol. 25, p. 7656.

²³ Wang Hongxu ed., *Mingshi gao*, repr. Wenhai chubanshe, Taibei, 1962, juan 281 (176), vol. 6, p. 317.

²⁴ *Xu Daozang*, repr. Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1924-1926, based on the text of the Ming period, dated 1607, no. 1451, fascicles 1064-1066.

²⁵ The author of the *Bu Tianshi shijia* is the sixty-second Master, Zhang Yuanxu, who published it in 1918. From then on, it was re-printed several times. It was included in the *Baiyunguan zhi* by S. Koyanagi (Tokyo, 1934, pp. 347-355) and in the chapter about the Masters of Heaven in *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* by Fu Qinjia (vol. 2, pp. 82-89). Un updated, extended version was recently reprinted in Taiwan by the sixty-fourth Master, Zhang Yuanxian, with the title *Lidai Zhang Tianshi zhuan* (Biographies of the Successive Generations of the Zhang Masters of Heaven).

²⁶ *Da Ming lichao shilu*, edition by the Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo, Taibei, 1965-1966; *Shizong shilu*, vols. 70-91t; *Muzong Shilu*, vols. 92-95; *Shenzong shilu*, vols. 96-118.

²⁷ Tan Qian, *Guoque fu beiyong lu*, repr. Ding wen shuju, Taibei 1978, 10 vols.

²⁸ *Jiangxi tongzhi*, edition of the 8th year of Guangxu (1881), consisting of 180 juan. Reprinted by the Huawen shuju, Taibei, 1967, 8 vols.

Guangxin prefecture (*Guangxin fuzhi*),²⁹ of Guiqi county (*Guiqi xianzhi*)³⁰ and of Longhu Mountain (*Longhu shanzhi*).³¹

During his thirteen-year period at court Zhang Guoxiang accomplished the miracle of making snow fall at the emperor's request.³² In 1598, a year of serious drought, he also produced rain at request³³. Through these services the fiftieth Master earned the sovereign's favour.³⁴ Besides these abilities, the fiftieth Master also showed skills as administrator of Longhu Mountain. He made noteworthy efforts to improve the condition of his estate. In 1609, for example, he obtained the exemption of the Shangqing temple and his personal residence from taxes and corvées.³⁵ In the same year, the flood we have already mentioned struck Guiqi county. In order to repair the Shangqing temple, which had been damaged, the fiftieth Master submitted a petition to the emperor asking for a financial grant, which was allotted by an imperial decree.³⁶

Zhang Guoxiang deserves a mention also as editor of fifty-two works composing the *Wanli xu Daozang* (The Supplement to the Taoist Canon of the Wanli Period).³⁷ He added new

²⁹ *Guangxin fuzhi*, edition of the twelfth year of Tongzhi (1873) consisting of 12 *juan*. Reprinted by the Chengwen chubanshe, Taipei, 1970, 3 vols.

³⁰ *Guiqi xianzhi*, edition of the tenth year of Tongzhi (1871), consisting of 10 *juan* plus 1, Yang Changjie, ed.

³¹ There are two editions of the *Longhu shanzhi*. The first of these, in 3 *juan*, was prepared by Yuan Mingshan in the Yuan period; 1 *juan* was added to it by Zhou Zhao in the Ming period. The second, in 16 *juan*, was edited by Lou Jinyuan in 1740; it contains two prefaces written by the editor and by Zhang Pengchong in the same year. The 1740 edition of the gazetteer was reprinted twice, in 1770 and in 1832. The copy printed in that year may be considered an abridged text of the 1740 edition, consisting only of 4 *juan* and not a full reprint of it, as T. Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Ch'ing History*, Ann Arbor, 1988, pp. 149-50, wrongly says.

³² Zhang Yuanxian, pp. 79-80.

³³ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *juan* 10, f. 15v.

³⁴ *Guangxin fuzhi*, *juan* 10, p. 1353.

³⁵ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *juan* 9, f. 5v.

³⁶ *Ming Shenzhong shilu*, *juan* 467, p. 8802, thirty-eighth year of Wanli, 2nd month, 9th day, 3.3.1610.

³⁷ *Wanli xu Daozang*, see the previous note no. 24. In the *Daozang tiyao* (pp. 1134-1176), the titles of the works composing the *Xu Daozang* section are numbered from no. 1421 to no. 1473, for a total of fifty-two titles, to which may be added the *Xu Daozang jing mulu*, no. 1420, which is included in the *zhengyi bu* section. On the contrary the *Daozang zimu yinde* (Harvard Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Index n. 25, repr. Taipei, 1966, pp. 36-37) lists fifty-four

materials to some of these works, received the order to perform this task in 1585 and achieved it in 1607.³⁸ Of the fifty-two titles composing the *Wanli xu Daozang*, twelve³⁹ were written during the Ming dynasty and can be ascribed to an author or to somebody who edited, compiled, selected or annotated them: five to Taoist personalities,⁴⁰ six to Confucian scholars⁴¹ and one to an imperial prince, Zhu Quan (1378-1448),⁴² who, like

titles of the *Xu Daozang* (from no. 1422 to no. 1476) plus the *Xu Daozang jing mulu* (no. 1421).

³⁸ Zhuang Hongyi, *Mingdai Daojiao zhengyi pai*, Taibei, 1986, pp. 29-30; Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, repr. Zhonghua shuju, Beijing, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 179-80.

³⁹ A great part of the remaining thirty-nine titles in the *Xu Daozang*, with a higher percentage than in the *Zhengtong Daozang*, is made up of scriptures concerning popular cults, especially texts dedicated to the worship of local deities, or hagiographies of saints, like the collection *Soushen ji* (*Daozang*, repr. by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1924-1926, fascicles 1005-1106), 6 *juan*, composed in about 1593.

⁴⁰ The following works can be ascribed to Taoist personalities: *Han Tianshi shijia* (*Daozang*, 1924-26 edition, fascicle 1066), 4 *juan*, by Zhang Zhengchang (1335-1378), revised by Zhang Yuchu (1361-1410) and completed by Zhang Guoxiang; *Huang jing jizhu* (*Daozang*, fascicles 1060-1062), 10 *juan*, by Zhou Xuanzhen, a Taoist of the Quanzhen order, who lived during the Ming dynasty; *Huang Ming enming shilu* (*Daozang*, fascicle 1065), 9 *juan*, by Zhang Zhengchang and Zhang Guoxiang; *Xiao yao xujing* (*Daozang*, fascicle 1081), 2 *juan*, by Hong Zicheng, from Xindu, Sichuan, who lived at the beginning of the Ming dynasty; in the *Daozang*, the *Xiao yao xujing* seems to consist of 4 *juan* and to occupy fascicles 1081 and 1082, including the *Changsheng quanjing*, 1 *juan* and the *Wusheng juejing*, 1 *juan*, which is a Buddhist work; *Xuxian zhen lu* (*Daozang*, fascicles 1086-1088), 5 *juan*, by Fang Wenzhao, who was appointed Custodian of Lingqi temple, in Putian, Fujian, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. For further biographical information see also: Goodrich & Fang, vol. 1, pp. 44-45 and pp. 107-08; Fu Qinjia, vol. 2, pp. 84-85; *Guangxin fuzhi*, *juan* 10, vol. 3, pp. 1350-51; *Daozang tiyao*, pp. 1212, 1216, 1158-59 and 1193.

⁴¹ The following works can be ascribed to Confucian scholars: *Daishi* (*Daozang*, fascicles 1092-1096), 18 *juan*, by Cha Zhilong, a Confucian scholar who became *jinshi* in 1559; *Guyi kaoyuan* (*Daozang*, fascicle 1100), 3 *juan*, by Mei Zhuo, a Confucian scholar who became *juren* in 1513; *Hongdao lu* (*Daozang*, fascicles 1067-1080), 56 *juan*, by Shao Jingbang (1491-1565); *Laozi yi* (*Daozang*, fascicles 1115-1116), 6 *juan*, by Jiao Hong (1541-1620); *Yi yin* (*Daozang*, fascicles 1097-1100), 6 *juan*, by Li Zhi (1527-1602); *Zhuangzi yi* (*Daozang*, fascicles 1117-1120), 8 *juan*, by Jiao Hong. For further biographical information see also: Goodrich & Fang, vol. 2, pp. 1059-61 and pp. 1164-66; *Daozang tiyao*, p. 1215, p. 1231 and the previous notes nos. 9 and 12.

⁴² The work is the *Tianhuang zhi dao Taiqing yuce* (*Daozang*, fascicles 1109-1110), 8 *juan*. See Goodrich & Fang, vol. 1, pp. 305-07; *Daozang tiyao*, p. 1199.

Jiao Hong (1541-1620) ⁴³ and Li Zhi, ⁴⁴ was equally versed in Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist doctrines. Therefore, since the *Wanli xu Daozang* incorporates works of Confucian scholars, who were interested in Taoism and Buddhism, its composition confirms the tendency manifested in many intellectual circles during the Ming period for an eclectic and syncretistic religious attitude: a tendency which found in Zhang Guoxiang, as in his predecessor Zhang Yuchu (1361-1410), ⁴⁵ one of its interpreters and representatives. ⁴⁶ On the contrary the criticism expressed by Ricci towards him and Taoism in general appears too severe and unfair, as if it were the result of a prejudiced and intolerant mentality.

4. *The Suppression of the Title Granted to the Masters of Heaven*

The most noteworthy event in Zhang Guoxiang's life was however the crisis which he faced in his relations with the throne. In order to understand those events, we must turn first to the history of the Zhang Tianshi family.

The date of the official acknowledgement of the title granted to the Zhang family is rather controversial. Since there are no reliable records of the different phases of the history of the Zhang Masters of Heaven, the exact situation of the movement before the Tang dynasty remains unclear. ⁴⁷

The *Han Tianshi shijia* (Biographies of the Masters of Heaven) reports that emperor Xuanzong (718-756) of the Tang Dynasty (616-907) summoned the fifteenth Master, Zhang Gao ⁴⁸ and conferred on him the title of Ancestor of the Masters of Heaven (*Han zu Tianshi*). ⁴⁹

⁴³ See the previous note no. 9.

⁴⁴ See the previous note no. 12.

⁴⁵ Goodrich & Fang, vol. 1, pp.107-08; *Guangxin fuzhi*, juan 10, vol. 3, pp.1350-51.

⁴⁶ K. M. Schipper, "Daozang suojian jindai minjian chongbai ziliao de chubu pinglun", *Hanxue Yanjiu Tongxun* XII, n. 2 (46), June 1993, pp. 95-99.

⁴⁷ K. M. Schipper, "Les Maitres Celestes de l'Epoque Song", *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes - Section des Sciences Religieuses* XLI, 1983-84, p. 133; Qing Xiqin, ed., *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, Chengdu, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 145-46.

⁴⁸ *Guqi xianzhi*, juan 11, fol. 7r.

⁴⁹ *Daozang*, fascicle 1066, juan 2, fols. 14r-15r.

The *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan Dynasty) records that the thirty-eighth Master of Heaven, Zhang Yucun,⁵⁰ was summoned to the capital in 1304 and was invested with the title of *Zhengyi jiaozhu* (Patriarch of the One and Orthodox Order).⁵¹ At the beginning of the Ming dynasty the emperor Taizu (1368-1398) did not confirm the title of *Tianshi* but granted the forty-second Master, Zhang Zhengchang,⁵² that of Real Man of One and Orthodox Order (*Zhengyi zhenren*).⁵³

The policy followed by the first Ming emperor, aimed at restoring Chinese traditions after the lengthy period of foreign rule, was pursued until the Jiajing era (1522-1567).⁵⁴ During this period of reign, after the protracted Rites Controversy,⁵⁵ the emperor favoured Taoism, which greatly flourished.

The privileged condition enjoyed by the Masters of Heaven was opposed by the Confucian officials. After the death of the emperor in 1566, they took advantage of the ascent of the new emperor Muzong (1566-1572) and of the fact that the forty-ninth Taoist patriarch, Zhang Yongxu,⁵⁶ had died the year before leaving no successor.

A memorial proposing the suppression of the hereditary title of *Zhengyi zhenren* was submitted by Guo Jianchen (1524-1580),⁵⁷ a zealous official, who was then Secretary of a Bureau

⁵⁰ *Guangxin fuzhi*, *juan* 10, vol. 3, p. 1349.

⁵¹ Song Lian (ed.), *Yuanshi*, repr. Zhonghua shuju, Beijing, 1976, *juan* 202 (89), vol. 8, p. 4526.

⁵² Goodrich & Fang, vol. 1, pp. 44-45; Fu Qinjia, vol. 2, pp. 84-85.

⁵³ *Mingshi*, *juan* 299 (187), vol. 25, p. 7654.

⁵⁴ A. Chang, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*, Oklahoma, 1982, pp. 108-112; P. Corradini, "La politica dell'imperatore Ming T'ai-tsu nei confronti dei monaci buddisti e taoisti", *Gururajamanjrika - Studi in Onore di G. Tucci*, Napoli, 1975, vol. 2, pp. 579-82; Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, Beijing, 1991, vol. 2, pp. 637-42.

⁵⁵ F. W. Mote, D. Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, *The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)* - Part I, repr. Taipei, 1988, pp. 447-50.

⁵⁶ *Mingshi*, *juan* 299 (187), vol. 25, p. 7656.

⁵⁷ Guo Jianchen originally came from Changsha and became *jinshi* in 1562. After having been Secretary of a Bureau (see next note) of the Ministry of Personnel at the beginning of the Muzong era, he ended his career as Administration Vice Commissioner (*canzheng*) of Jiangxi province. He died in 1580, at the age of 57. The events of his life are to be found in the *Cixian tang ji*, Collection of Rare Books in the National Library of Taipei, nos. 12394/16, *juan* 31 and 34. An abridged biography can be read also in the *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, repr. Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, Taipei, 1964, p. 498.

(*zhushi*)⁵⁸ of the Ministry of Personnel. At the beginning of the Longqing period (1567-1573), he stirred up a series of scandals which allegedly involved the Master of Heaven. In a memorial he argued that the successor of Zhang Yongxu - that is Zhang Guoxiang - should be granted the more modest title of Superintendent of Shangqing temple (*Shangqing guan tidian*), the fifth rank and a bronze seal.⁵⁹

The proposal to suppress the title of *Zhenren* had also been supported by Ren Shifeng, Governor of Jiangxi province.⁶⁰

Therefore Zhang Guoxiang, still young, had to accept the *diminutio capitis* in order to succeed his uncle. However he did not stand inactive and did his best to regain the lost title and status. He managed to take advantage of the rivalries among different factions of officials, in which the eunuchs also played a part. The eunuchs, who had been kept under control by the emperor Shizong (1521-1566), increased their influence after his death and vigorously opposed those officials who had denounced the misrule of the former era. According to the *Mingshi*,⁶¹ the Master of Heaven sided with the eunuchs, who were headed by the powerful Feng Bao.⁶² The latter was so influential at court that even the famous Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng⁶³ needed his support.

At last, thanks to Feng Bao's backing, in 1577 Zhang Guoxiang regained the ground which he had lost. This event has been recorded by the *Mingshi*⁶⁴ and the *Mingshi gao*,⁶⁵ as well as by the gazetteer of Longhu shan,⁶⁶ the gazetteer of Guiqi

⁵⁸ C. O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, 1985, no. 1420.

⁵⁹ *Ming Muzong shilu*, *juan* 16, pp. 434-35, 2nd year of Longqing, 1st month, 12th day, 2.9.1568.

⁶⁰ Ren Jiyu, vol. 2, p. 686; Wu Tingxie, *Ming dufu nianbiao*, Beijing, vol. 2, years 1566-67.

⁶¹ *Mingshi*, *juan* 295 (183), vol. 25, p. 7556.

⁶² *Ibidem*, *juan* 305 (193), vol. 26, pp. 7800-05.

⁶³ Goodrich & Fang, vol. 1, pp. 53-61. R. B. Crawford, *The Life and Thought of Chang Chi-cheng, 1525-1582*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1961.

⁶⁴ *Mingshi*, *juan* 299 (187), vol. 25, p. 7656.

⁶⁵ *Mingshi gao*, *juan* 281 (176), vol. 6, p. 317.

⁶⁶ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *juan* 8, f. 32r.

county, ⁶⁷ the *Guoque fu beiyou lu*, ⁶⁸ the *Shilu* ⁶⁹ and by the encyclopaedia *Gujin tushu jicheng*. ⁷⁰

Therefore, when the fiftieth Master of Heaven was seen by Matteo Ricci he was again riding high.

⁶⁷ *Guqi xianzhi*, *juan* 11, p. 12v.

⁶⁸ *Guoque fu beiyou lu*, *juan* 70, vol. 7, p. 4309.

⁶⁹ *Ming Shizong shilu*, *juan* 61, p. 1383, 5th year of Jiajing, 4th month, 7th day, 4.24.1526.

⁷⁰ Chen Menglei, ed., *Gujin tushu jicheng*, repr. *Zhonghua baoshu*, Chengdu, 1985, *juan* 216, vol. 50, p. 61994.

SUBSTANCE VERSUS FUNCTION (*Ti* vs. *Yong*) THE HUMANISTIC RELEVANCE OF YANG GUANGXIAN'S OBJECTION TO WESTERN ASTRONOMY

Grete Moortgat

To like to be depressed and hateful
without good cause is not what a
true gentleman would like.

Fang Yizhi to Li Wen¹

When the Jesuits arrived in China, they used their scientific knowledge in a very ambiguous way; astronomy was merely a vehicle for the spreading of the Catholic faith. At the same time they claimed that their astronomy was rational and mathematically more correct than Chinese astronomy and refused any involvement in the preparation of the astrological comments on the calendar.² Certain elements of Chinese astronomy (such as the *ziqu*, one of the *siyu*) were rejected on the grounds that there was no scientific proof or that they could not be observed.³ Of course their real intention was to link the brilliance of western science to Christian culture.

¹ W. J. Peterson, *Bitter Gourd, Fang I-chih and the Impetus for Intellectual Change*, New Haven & London, 1979, p. 15, note 52.

² Although there is some evidence that e.g. Schall did make recommendations to the emperor based on a correlation with ancient *Yijing* cosmology: "Since the winter solstice the celestial bodies have shown that there would be rain and snow. Yet many times these indications have not been realised. Since the beginning of spring it has not been freezing cold. The phenomena of the increase and decrease of the *yin* and *yang* are not in harmony. Therefore, your servant humbly petitions Your Imperial Majesty to restrain yourself, to pray to heaven, and to issue a decree to both high and low officials that they should spare punishment and distribute alms among the poor people in order to acknowledge the warning of heaven." (Schall, February 7, 1646) Lo Shu-fu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations 1644-1820*, Tuscon, 1966, part I, p. 3. The allotting of comments to the calendar fell under the responsibility of the Astronomical Bureau.

³ Cf. F. Verbiest, (*Lifa*) *Budeyi bian*, Beijing, 1669, repr. in Wu Xiangxiang ed., *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian*, Taiwan, 1965, 2nd ed. 1982, part 1, pp. 333-470, pp. 397-400, *passim*.

At the time, science had not yet become an independent field of study either in China or in the West. Peterson has shown that the seventeenth century was characterised by a growing recognition of the expert knowledge that could be provided by scientific research. This knowledge was vital to the process of “investigation of things” (*ke wu*), which had to lead to “comprehension of the seminal forces” (*tong ji*); through material investigations, principles were discovered. Comprehension of the principles in specific fields of study would in turn lead to the understanding of “The Way”, the Principle of the cosmos, in harmony with which man had to organise his actions. The search for *li* had an explicit moral connotation.

In this paper, I would like to examine how Yang Guangxian’s attitude toward western astronomy fits into the metaphysical development of the seventeenth century.

Yang Guangxian and Western Astronomy

It is beyond doubt that the decision in the famous calendar controversy in 1669 rested mainly on political grounds. While discrediting the regents through their protégé Yang Guangxian, the Kangxi emperor succeeded in obtaining a more accurate calendar which would legitimise his rule in the eyes of the Chinese people, and at the same time disposed of Manchu elements thereby strengthening his monopoly on power in the Chinese empire. He would consolidate his position by turning the (early) Qing-dynasty into an example of Confucian orthodoxy (e.g. Sacred Edicts, special civil service examinations, Qing-history project, etc.) while using alternative means of control via the Palace Memorial System and a strong military.

In Confucian tradition, an accurate calendar was the emperor’s way to prove that his “natural (dis)position” (*tianming*) was that of the son of heaven; thus the importance attached to minute observation of regular and especially irregular celestial phenomena which could be explained as portents. By means of the calendar, the emperor had to harmonise the actions of humans with the course of Heaven and the patterns of the earth. Possessing an accurate calendar was of the utmost importance for the Kangxi emperor to

legitimise his rule. (Later he would introduce additional measures such as tax-exemption and the sacred edict to win over the common people, the Ming-history project and special civil service exams to win over the intellectuals, while defeating the feudatories, and strengthening his own position by means of the Palace Memorial System.)

Apart from the political facts taken into consideration to evaluate the position of Yang Guangxian in this controversy, it is important to bear in mind the complexity of the philosophical situation of that time. The seventeenth century holds a unique position in Chinese philosophical history. On the one hand because of the contents of philosophical thought and, on the other, because of the social position of the great thinkers of that era.

Social unrest, political corruption and finally the Manchu take-over had left many a Confucian in a position where to refuse to serve as an official was at the same time a moral necessity and a means to stay alive. The sixteenth-century trend towards parallelism of the "Three Teachings" was still evident in the career history of many of the seventeenth-century philosophers; people like Fang Yizhi shaved their head and joined the Buddhist order. Many scholars simply retired or refused to accept positions in a corrupt government. They sacrificed their own careers and assumed the role of the "conscience of society" that would allow them to safeguard their moral integrity while taking an active role in society.⁴

The story of Yang Guangxian's life runs largely parallel to that of many of the intellectuals of his time. The main protagonist of the famous Schall trial - 1664-1669 - Yang Guangxian is described in Jesuit accounts as an incapable and xenophobic enemy of the truth, with a quick temper. Traditional biographies, such as in Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*,⁵ describe him as "very excitable" and Yang himself admits that for this reason "his father regarded him as unfit for an official career". The only rank he ever obtained, besides that of director of the Astronomical Bureau from 1664 to 1668, was a minor hereditary military rank which he passed on to a younger brother. When he was put in charge of the

⁴ Peterson, *Bitter Gourd*, *passim*.

⁵ Repr. Taipei, 1970, pp. 889-892.

Astronomical Bureau, he repeatedly petitioned to be released from his post on the grounds of bad health and lack of cooperation from the other officials.

The city of Nanking was, in the first half of the seventeenth century, a forum where young intellectuals could meet in an informal way. Hummel ⁶ mentions that Yang lived in Nanking for a number of years, after 1644. It is not unlikely that Yang was influenced by the thoughts of contemporaries moving in the same circle. The “free spirit” and “unconventional behaviour” of the Nanking “students” definitely left room for a concern about contemporary problems. Peterson ⁷ describes how Fang Yizhi and his contemporaries, besides more frivolous activities in the pleasure quarter of Nanking, spent their time writing poetry, discussing politics and military affairs and “the principles of things”, and attempted to draft imperial rescripts concerning the recruiting of men of worth and the restoring of order in the troubled empire.

Undeterred by the fate of the Donglin Academy, Yang too wrote memorials on the lack of morality in the actions of high officials, such as Chen Qixin and the Grand Secretary Wen Tiren in 1636 and 1637, without fear of punishment. Yang, like many of his contemporaries, preferred the role of teacher, avoiding an official position for the sake of personal improvement and teaching moral behaviour for social good, as was the vogue in the seventeenth century. This was recognised by Hong Jin who wrote a preface ⁸ to Yang's *Ye huo*, the general title for his two memorials and a short treatise, and by the famous Qing historian Qian Daxin. ⁹

Yang's first memorial, entitled *Zhuan bao* (To Sacrifice and Repay) addressed the issue of the relationship between subject and ruler. ¹⁰ This same concern prompted him to reject the Jesuit's star charts in his *Niejing*, as in these charts, the exact

⁶ Hummel, p. 890.

⁷ Peterson, *Bitter Gourd*, p. 24, *passim*.

⁸ In the opinion of Prof. Huang Yilong (National Qinghua University, Taiwan), based on textual research, this preface was written by Yang himself. (unpublished).

⁹ J. D. Young, *Confucianism and Christianity, The first Encounter*, Hong Kong, 1983, pp. 78, 85.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 78.

middle of heaven did not correspond to China.¹¹ His reason for rejecting the star charts was moral rather than scientific; In his discussion on the 'Middle Star',¹² Yang quotes the chapter *Wang zhi* of the *Liji* on how heterodox teachings bring confusion by "destroying the laws and confusing the names".¹³ By having the position of 'master' in the middle of heaven correspond to the West, the Jesuits in fact called the 'master' a 'servant' and the 'servant' a 'master', and the Chinese were thereby effectively changed into subordinates of the West. His opinion was strengthened by the Jesuits depiction of China as the 'antipode' of the West.¹⁴

Yang Guangxian is often derogatorily described as a mere 'astrologer'. Young mentions that Yang studied such subjects as music¹⁵ and martial arts instead of preparing for the civil service examinations, and that he had "broad interests and a free spirit".¹⁶ This was not an uncommon trend among the

¹¹ By changing the position of asterisms in relation to the zodiacal divisions, the entire correlation based on the *Yijing* was thrown into disorder. *Niejing*, Peking, 1662, pp.13a-15a. The 4 cardinal zodiacal divisions (*si zheng* or *zhong*) hold the four most important positions of the sun, namely those of the solstices and equinoxes and are therefore correlated to the 'element' 'sun'. They are located in the middle of the zodiacal division and defined by the asterism in the middle of that zodiacal division. The central position is correlated to the 'master'. The zodiacal divisions to the left of the four *zheng* are the four *meng*, corresponding to the first months of each season. They are defined by means of the asterisms in their left. Correspondingly, the four *ji* to the right are defined by means of the right asterisms. Yang goes on to explain how these asterisms are correlated to the 'elements' and animals, which in turn determine the fate of people born in the years with corresponding stems and branches.

¹² *Budeyi*, Peking ca.1666, repr. in Li Yushu ed., *Jindai shilie congshu huibian*, Qing-period, Taipei, 1929, pp. 361-624, 453.

¹³ Cf. Also *Niejing*, p. 2b.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 4b ff, esp.10a.

¹⁵ Yang's reinstatement of the ancient ceremony of the "observance of the vapours, or the flying of the ashes" (*hou qi*) should be seen in connection to his study of music. In this ceremony, bamboo flutes were placed in the ground and filled with ashes. Due to the interaction of the forces of *yin* and *yang*, the vapour (*qi*) of the earth would, at fixed times, blow the ashes out of the pipes, similar to the human breath passing through a flute. These pipes had to be correctly placed and of the correct size like the tuning of an instrument. They were used to illustrate the 'musical harmony' inherent in the cosmos. This technique is mentioned in the *Hou Han shu*, but was rarely used after the sixth century A.D. Cf. N. Halsberghe, *Xin zhi lingtai yi xiang zhi, Vertoog over de nieuwgebouwde instrumenten op het observatorium, Ferdinand Verbiest, Beijing, 1674*, Leuven, 1992, part I, pp. 381-386.

¹⁶ Young, p. 77.

students in Nanking in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ In his *Seven solutions*, Fang Yizhi has his character, Baoshu Zi, broaden his knowledge by studying Yin and Yang, Images and Numbers, the signs of the stars, observing the atmosphere for portents,...music and...martial techniques.¹⁸ Fang Yizhi himself had been instructed in the “Numbers and Images” associated with the Book of Changes.¹⁹ The study of the *Changes* was connected to the belief of the followers of Wang Yangming Neo-Confucianism “following one’s heart’s desire without transgressing”; a portion of resignation and obedience to heaven was necessary and the Book of Changes was frequently used to discover the decrees of heaven. In this period the Book of Changes was used more as a moral guide than for its cosmology.²⁰ Yang Guangxian refers to the Book of Changes and its relevance for the determination of man’s fate on numerous occasions.²¹

Fang Yizhi, and others, also held Sima Qian in high esteem as a widely-travelled man with broad knowledge. Some scholars, imitating Sima, had spent prolonged periods of time “roaming about” China. Yang also refers to Sima Qian in his *Zhai miu lun*,²² describing him as a person passing on his knowledge, and Yang himself spent some time (after 1644) travelling in North China before settling in Nanking.

Yang’s stay in Nanking, the centre of the former anti-western sentiment, combined with his preoccupation for the moral standing of the government officials and personal observation of the (military) vulnerability of the empire during his travels in the north, made it logical that he should have turned his attention to the Jesuits.

Yang followed in the footsteps of the Donglin and compared the offences of the Grand Secretary Wen Tiren to those of the eunuch Wei Zhongxian (1568-1627), the main opponent of the Donglin. Yang was conscious of the privileged

¹⁷ Peterson, *Bitter Gourd*, *passim*.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

²⁰ T. de Bary, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York & London, 1970, p. 18.

²¹ E.g. in the *Niejing*, *passim*.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 23b.

position of Adam Schall, who had personal contact with the emperor and could influence him, even though he had never participated in the civil exams and was therefore not entitled to a position of influence in a traditional Confucian state. Although Yang himself never participated in the civil service exams, he regarded them as the only way to preserve the teachings of Confucius.²³ Yang extended the comparison with Wei Zhongxian to the Jesuits to illustrate that their influence undermined Confucian tradition.²⁴

One of the first researchers to examine the Confucian value of Yang's anti-Christian writings was Young in his *Confucianism and Christianity, the First Encounter*.²⁵ He concluded that there was validity to Yang's claim that Christian values could undermine the Confucian moral.

The tendency to assume the role of teacher of morals rather than that of civil servant had its philosophical foundation. In his introduction to *Self and Society in Ming Thought*²⁶ Wm. Theodore de Bary pointed out how in the late Ming the "new pragmatism", stressing physical life and concrete needs of man, that characterised the Confucianists' attitude towards an official career, was related to the "materialistic" concept of *qi*. The Ming stress on practical action, physical reality and empirical study led to an "anti-metaphysical tone in Qing thought". In Qing thought about nature, *qi* gained in importance in relation to *li* as thinkers became aware of the fact that certain observed irregularities in the cosmos could not be explained. *Qi* had always had the notion of unpredictability and chaos. This led to a rejection of traditional cosmological patterns that could not explain these irregularities.²⁷

The tension between astronomy and cosmology was not limited to the seventeenth century. Nathan Sivin²⁸ has shown

²³ Young, p. 80.

²⁴ Budeyi, ch. *Pixie lun, shang*.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 77-96.

²⁶ de Bary, p. 23.

²⁷ J. D. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, New York, 1984, *passim*.

²⁸ "On the Limits of Empirical Knowledge in the Traditional Chinese Sciences", in J.T. Fraser et al. ed., *Time, Science and Society in China and the West. The Study of Time V*, Amherst, 1986, pp. 151-169.

that besides a cyclic view of time in the sense of recurrent patterns related to *yin* and *yang* and the five phases in Chinese cosmological and philosophical writings, a linearistic concept of science, and especially astronomy, existed. This belief was narrowly connected to the view that there were limits to empirical knowledge and that therefore any calendar based on observational data would in due time show discrepancy with the course of celestial affairs and would have to be replaced by a more accurate system, as there was no theory available that could accurately predict the course of future phenomena. Astronomy held a special position in the sciences as it was “quantitative as well as concerned with prediction”.²⁹ As early as the Han period, a distinction was made between “astronomy as a collection of data and techniques and astronomy as a science”³⁰ as irregularities in planetary motions proved more and more difficult to be reduced to the simple cosmological system of the Book of Changes.³¹ From that time on, “a disinterest in cosmology (became) the norm among astronomers. By the Northern Song Period... the issue for the working astronomer had become not the ability to increase knowledge but technical progress”.³²

Already in the Han period, people like Cai Yong (A.D.175) had recognised that techniques would have to be reviewed at regular intervals. In his Discussion of Calendrical Astronomy (*Lun li*) Jia Kui (A.D.92) spoke of intervals of 300 years. The Jesuits pointed out that the *Datong* calendar was actually the same as Guo Shoujing's *Shoushi li* (used from 1281 on) and that the interval of 300 years had passed. According to Nathan Sivin,³³ as a rule the ancient, incorrect system was to be replaced by a new one, although examples of partial adaptations of existing systems are known.

Yang Guangxian recognised that calendar systems became inaccurate in the course of time and had to be revised. In his *Niejing* he writes:

²⁹ Sivin, p. 163.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 165.

³¹ Henderson, *passim*.

³² Sivin, p. 159.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 157.

"The ecliptic of the *Datong* calendar has for a period of more than 300 years, from the time of Guo Shoujing up to the present, not been revised and it already shows a discrepancy of 5 degrees". The widths of the zodiacal divisions are all different now. It is a matter of the utmost urgency that they be examined and corrected".³⁴

He was not opposed to using foreign elements to accomplish a revision of the calendar system.

"We can use the occultations of the Muslim method to verify the positions of the planets and constellations, we can use the eclipses of the new method to rectify the orbits of the sun and moon. Why shouldn't we combine the respective qualities in order to form one school? Why should they be divided over different 'gates'? ... The methods of Xi and He, of *Huihui* and of the West are different roads that lead to the same conclusion".³⁵

But he insisted on a revision, an adaptation, of the ancient system of the sages.

"One should order those of the Astronomical Bureau who revise (the calendar) not to have a biased heart. Honouring the method of Xi and He should be regarded as the prime (goal), and one can add to this and revise it".³⁶

He did not deny that certain elements of western astronomy were more accurate, but he blamed the Jesuits for presenting the western method as an alternative to the Chinese one, thereby striving to replace the existing system with an entirely new one.

"(Keeping the division into different 'gates' (Yang refers to the *xi ju*) is surely wishing to prevent that the great China reaches a correct method. It comes down to honouring a partial method that doesn't 'fathom' (the principles). This is what one calls 'loving without reserve (without recognising the bad sides of the person that one loves)'. This is not the way a *junzi* uses his heart".³⁷

³⁴ *Niejing*, pp. 25a, 17b.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 25b-26a.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 26a.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 26a, also 18b.

On numerous occasions the Jesuits referred to the imperial decree of Shunzhi 1,7,10 (repeated by Kangxi on March 8th, 1669) indicating that the new method was superior and that all future calendars had to be based on it.³⁸

Yang's rejection of the western system was based not only on the fact that it was 'western' (*Xiyang*) but also on its claim to be 'totally new'!

The first argument is well-known and much has been written about Yang's objection to the formula *Yi Xiyang xin fa* that was added to Schall's *Shixian* calendar. The second aspect is, in the author's opinion, insufficiently recognised. By reducing Yang's opposition to western astronomy to mere xenophobia, one does injustice to the philosophical foundation of his objections. His famous remark that, despite a deficient astronomical method, the Han had flourished for 400 years and that, therefore, it was better to have a deficient Chinese system than a western one, should be seen in this light. The Han had flourished in spite of a deficient method because they had understood the principle.

According to Yang, not only was the western system not more correct than the Chinese one but some of the elements presented by the Jesuits as novelties simply represented another approach to the one adopted by Chinese astronomers.³⁹

In his article on "On the Limits of Empirical Knowledge in the Traditional Chinese Sciences"⁴⁰ Sivin mentions that the urge to "make astronomy a science again" (i.e. to discover the patterns behind the phenomena) "never completely subsided". This 'urge' was born out of philosophical (Neo-Confucian) grounds. It is clear that Yang's philosophical beliefs led him to see astronomy in this light.

The awareness of the limitations of empirical knowledge⁴¹ that led to the detachment of astronomy from cosmology, was

³⁸ E.g. in *Budeyi*, pp. 349-350, *passim*.

³⁹ *Niejing*, pp. 25a-25b.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 165.

⁴¹ It was the view of professional astronomers such as Shen Kuo (1031-95) (*Mengqi bitan*, Brush Talks from the Dream book) that the limits of observational, empirical science were that they could only explain particular phenomena in the universe but not the organismic universe as a whole. Sivin, p. 160.

twofold. On the one hand, observation and instruments used for observation were not precise enough to measure the finer changes of the universe. Hence, the interest of Qing scholars in 'observational tools' such as accurate astronomical instruments and the telescope and in Jesuit works on optics. Several scholars wrote about optical illusions and atmospheric refraction, as e.g. Xiong Bogan.⁴²

On the other, as the cosmos was believed to be inherently irregular and imprecise, it could therefore never be explained in full. We find this view in the writings of astronomers throughout Chinese history, as e.g. Jia Kui,⁴³ but especially in the seventeenth century, as was shown by John B. Henderson,⁴⁴ and this view is still present in the writings of such eighteenth-century scholars as Dai Zhen.⁴⁵ The discussions on the theory of knowledge occupied the writings of many of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars.⁴⁶

This view was challenged by philosophers like Cai Yuanding and Zhu Xi, who believed that there was an underlying but complicated regularity in the cosmos. As a result it was possible to learn the "why something is so" (*suoyi ran*) of phenomena and, based on this, astronomers could make endless predictions.⁴⁷ In line with Zhu Xi, Yang believed that "all things came into existence because they possessed *li*".⁴⁸ As a result, the cosmos could be understood.

Yang's viewpoint strongly reflects Zhu Xi's attitude toward calendar specialists, as described by Yung Sik Kim.⁴⁹ He explained that, although Zhu Xi admitted not to be versed in such '*xiao dao*' (small ways) as astronomy, he valued the information that they could contribute to an understanding of

⁴² *Wu li xiao zhi*, I, 33a, as quoted in Peterson, "Fang I-chih: Western Learning and the 'Investigation of Things'", in de Bary, pp. 389-390.

⁴³ Sivin, p. 157, *passim*.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, *passim*.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 155.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 163.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 160ff.

⁴⁸ *Budeyi*, pp. 414-415. Young, p. 90.

⁴⁹ "Chu Hsi (1130-1200) on Calendar Specialists and Their Knowledge: A Scholar's Attitude toward Technical Scientific Knowledge in Traditional China", *T'oung Pao* 78 (1992), pp. 94-115.

the cosmos and it was his opinion that they should be included as topics for the civil service examinations. But since they inform us about what is 'posterior to the physical form' (*xing er xia*), their knowledge is easily understood. It is the *li* (principles) which are 'prior to physical form' (*xing er shang*) that are difficult to fathom.

Zhu Xi believed that technicians occupied with calendar computation (*lijia*), computed aspects of the material world (*qi*) and could not penetrate profound cosmological problems. He said that:

"The calendar specialists of today...merely increase or decrease the degrees of the movements of the heavens to seek agreement (with the calendar)".⁵⁰

Yung Sik Kim points out that notwithstanding Zhu Xi's rejection of such elements as the rightward movement of the sun, moon and planets, these elements were still used by calendar experts for their daily calculations, since they allowed the use of much smaller numbers. He quotes Wang Xichan as saying that

"By the Sung, the calendar was divided into two ways. There was the calendar of the Confucians and there was the calendar of the calendar specialists. The Confucians, not knowing the calendrical numbers, drew upon empty principles (*li*) to build their theories. The specialists, without knowing the principles of calendar, made fixed methods to observe the heavens".⁵¹

Yang expressed the same distrust of calendar specialists and accused the Jesuits on several occasions of making changes to the calendar system simply for computational convenience. A famous example is the adoption of the diurnal division into 96 quarters instead of 100.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Zhuzi yulei* (Classified Conversations of Master Zhu), compiled in 1270, reprinted in 1473, ch. 2, p. 11b, first passage, as quoted in Yung, p. 102.

⁵¹ *Xiao'an xinfu*, 1663, as quoted in Yung, p. 107.

⁵² Yang accused the Jesuits of using the number 96 because it allowed an equal division of quarters over the twelve hours. Verbiest replied in his *Budeyi bian* (p. 412) that the Chinese add four quarters in order to obtain the round figure of 100. Ricci, however, had admitted to using 96 quarters of equal length in order to facilitate calculations. *Hungai tongxian tushuo*, ch. *An dufen shi tushuo di san*, in Li Zhizao ed., *Tianxue chuhan*, Taipei, 1978, pp. 1754-1755. Cf. also F. Verbiest, *Astronomia Europaea*, Dillingen, 1687, ch. 6.

It is in this context of Confucian scholar versus technical expert that the difference between *li* and *fa/shu*, or *ti* and *yong* should be taken into consideration.

Traditionally, a clear distinction was made between *fa* (method) / *shu* (numbers) and *li* (principle). In his *Zhai miu lun*⁵³ Yang Guangxian voices the opinion of the Confucianists:

“The Confucianist investigates the principles (*li*) thoroughly, but doesn’t investigate the numbers (*shu*) thoroughly; that is why he knows the ‘substance / reality’ (*ti*) of heaven but doesn’t know the function (*yong*) of heaven.

The technician investigates the numbers thoroughly, but doesn’t investigate the principles thoroughly; that is why he knows the function of heaven, but doesn’t know the ‘substance / reality’ of heaven.”

In his *Budeyi*, Verbiest wondered why Chinese officials hadn’t reacted sooner, if the formula ‘based on the new method of the west’ was as injurious to Chinese pride as Yang claimed. Yang explained that the calendar method belonged to the area of the “technicians” and therefore did not “stir the literati’s conscience”,⁵⁴ as the Chinese classics did. By stressing that the Jesuit astronomical data rejected the texts of Yao and Shun, Yang hoped to “stir the literati into revolt”.

The people whose task was to compute the calendar worked in the realm of the *shu* and were therefore technicians. Thus, the Kangxi emperor saw the Jesuits employed in the Astronomical Bureau simply as skilled technicians. Yang himself was probably punished only by banishment for his incompetence in calendar matters because mistakes in the computation of the calendar were professional mistakes rather than moral ones.

Yang could not deny that as far as the *shu* were concerned, the calculations of the Jesuits were (in some instances but not always!)⁵⁵ correct. But he objected to what he considered their attempts to reduce astronomy to mere *fa* or *yong*.

Yang must have thought along the same lines as Fang Yizhi’s discourse on the “three types of learning” (*san zhi*).⁵⁶

⁵³ Beijing, 1659, p. 2a.

⁵⁴ *Niejing*, pp. 2b-3a.

⁵⁵ Eg. in *Niejing*, p. 29b, *passim*.

⁵⁶ *Tong ya*, 12a. as quoted in Peterson, p. 381ff.

Fang distinguishes between a first type of learning, material investigations (*zhi ce*), that can lead to knowledge in specific fields, such as astronomy, but not to an understanding of the general Principle behind all things; a second type of learning, not based on things and therefore unverifiable, that dealt with spirits, the life in the hereafter, etc.; and, a third type of knowledge, based on things, but leading to a higher understanding, a comprehension of the seminal forces (*tong ji*) and the principles of things. Fang Yizhi believed that “the knowledge of the Far West which entered China in the Wanli period was rich in ‘material investigations’ but deficient in speaking of ‘comprehending seminal forces’.” As a result, their material investigations were not adequate.⁵⁷

Yang Guangxian writes:

“A government (according to calendar science), is concerned with worshipping heaven and being diligent in attending to the welfare of the people. What could be greater (a task)? ... We need a science that (represents) the utmost of both principles and numbers, and only then can there ‘be harmony between man and universe’.⁵⁸ The numbers are a fixed, determinate method; the principles are the moving powers of life that make use of the method.”

Like Zhu Xi, Yang believed that perfect knowledge of the calendar had existed in the times of Yao and Shun, but had subsequently been lost. This knowledge had to be restored and would result in a ‘determinate method’ (*ding fa*), an eternally correct calendar. As a result, in 1678 Verbiest wrote an ‘eternal calendar’ for the Kangxi emperor, thus claiming to possess perfect knowledge of the calendar and of the underlying principles of the cosmos since the former could not be obtained without the latter.

Yang recognised that he himself was not knowledgeable in calendar matters:

“I, Guangxian, don’t discuss the numbers of the sun, moon and five planets; I ‘one-sidedly’ discuss the aspect of their

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 382.

⁵⁸ “Above correspond to the Way of heaven, below correspond to the patterns of the earth, clearly correspond to the matters of the people, mysteriously correspond to the spirits.” *Zhai miu lun*, pp. 23a-23b.

principles... It is necessary to invite a Confucian scholar who (is versed in) the utmost of both the principles and the numbers to complete an eternal calendar. This cannot be commissioned to a person whose learning doesn't include technical skill".⁵⁹

In Yang's eyes, Guo Shoujing was such a scholar, knowledgeable in both numbers and principles.

"Guo Shoujing was a scientist who (se knowledge encompassed) the utmost of both principles and numbers. ... This great Confucian that studied principles, used the numbers to calculate the phenomena and used the principles to correspond to the phenomena... But I have never heard him say that antiquity was devoid of (a correct) method, and that only now we begin to have (a correct) method".⁶⁰

It is also in this context that Yang objected to the replacement of the four departments of the Astronomical Bureau by a single western one:

"Even (Guo Shoujing) didn't dare to consider the learning of one person to be (always) correct. That is why he established four separate departments that mutually examined and corrected each other".⁶¹

On several occasions, the Jesuits referred to Yang's statement that he was knowledgeable about the principles, but not about the method of calendar computation.⁶² Verbiest used the character *li* in reference to the theory of the sphericity of the earth,⁶³ a theory which Yang denied, while claiming that he understood the *li* of the cosmos. But the usage of the term *li* is entirely different. Whereas Verbiest was clearly referring to a geometrical principle, Yang used the term in a metaphysical sense to denote the underlying principle of the cosmos, the Way to which both nature and man must correspond.

Other scholars, like Xiong Bogan, had accused the westerners of not distinguishing between "substance" and "function".⁶⁴ Fang Yizhi also claimed that geometrical schemes

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 23a-b, 25a.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 23b-24a.

⁶¹ *Zhai miu lun*, *ibidem*, pp. 23b-24a.

⁶² Cf. *Budeyi bian*, pp. 337 and 437.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, pp. 438-450.

⁶⁴ Fang Yizhi reduced some of the elements of western learning to the level of "function", as for example in his discussion of the 4 and 5 elements; referring

could not explain the finer aspects of natural phenomena, as, e.g., in the case of light rays.

Yang, however, differed from his contemporaries, such as Fang Yizhi, in the sense that the latter had strong reservations about 'uncritical conservatism'.⁶⁵

"Since it is wrong to adhere to the ancient and disregard the modern, it is even more unnecessary to adhere to the errors of the past".⁶⁶

"Fang was thus free from any need to disparage western learning simply because it was new".⁶⁷

In his treatise on the 'Middle Star' (*Zhong xing*),⁶⁸ Yang claimed that Confucius was a sage because he passed on the doctrine of Yao and Shun. Because of this doctrine, man was in harmony with nature. The astronomical data fixed by Xi and He can be found in the writings of Yao and Shun and are a reflection of this harmony. Confucius' knowledge of this harmony was perfect. By rejecting the astronomical data in the *Yao dian*, the Jesuits wanted to prove that Confucius was mistaken and that he was not a sage. This would endanger his position as teacher and the continued existence of Confucianism.

In this context, Yang rejected the use of the telescope, as it "only enlarges what is small",⁶⁹ meaning that it only enlarged what was already there, without providing new information. Everything that exists can be known by fathoming the principle.

Yang's attitude toward the calendar is illustrated by a passage at the end of his *Niejing*, in which Yang answers a 'guest' about the importance of 'verification' (*yan*) of predictions: "When this book (*Niejing*) was finished, a guest asked me: "... but the spreading of the new method resulted from the fact that the eclipses (predicted) by the Muslim and *Datong* methods weren't 'verified' (didn't correspond to the

to Zhu Xi, he claims that "four is substance and five is function". *Wu li xiao zhi*, ch. 1, p. 14a, as quoted in Peterson, p. 393.

⁶⁵ *Wu li xiao zhi*, ch. 1, p. 34b, as quoted in Peterson, p. 391.

⁶⁶ *Tong ya, shou*, ch. 1, p. 27b, as quoted in Peterson, p. 383.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 384.

⁶⁸ *Budeyi*, pp. 449-453.

⁶⁹ *Niejing*, p. 26a.

predictions). Which road can you take in order to make them 'verify'?" I said: "The guest ... doesn't know that what one calls 'not being verified', are not the times of heaven that are not 'verified' but the matters of the people that are not 'verified'.... It isn't verified whether there aren't people sitting by (the westerners') pillow, writing their (predictions) for them... What the two departments (of *Huihui* and *Datong*) verify, is whether there is no 'person that plots evil'. That is why I wrote this draft in order to 'put to right' (and illustrate the fact) that the new method is not verified..."⁷⁰

Yang denied that the accuracy of the prediction of eclipses was at the heart of a 'correct method', since it was only a matter of technical calculations and the material aspect of the cosmos.

Zhu Xi also made allegations about the secrecy of instrument makers, which resulted in a lack of detailed information on astronomical instruments and the inability of lay scholars to use them properly.⁷¹ To negate such accusations, in 1664-1674 Ferdinand Verbiest wrote a detailed description of the astronomical instruments that he had constructed for the Peking observatory by order of the Kangxi emperor.⁷²

Conclusion

At a time when science was beginning to emancipate itself from cultural bonds and many scholars were rejecting the cosmological patterns of the *Yijing*, Yang Guangxian, preoccupied with the deterioration of moral behaviour in his age, chose to apply to astronomy the Neo-Confucian (Chengzhu school) belief in a pattern, through which all things had come into existence. This pattern in the cosmos was the same as the patterns that determined human behaviour in man, the most 'spiritual being'. The morality of actions was judged by the degree of their adherence to this principle. The sages of antiquity, being sages, were completely aware of this principle and their writings reflect this perfect understanding. For Yang

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 23a-26b.

⁷¹ Yung, p. 110.

⁷² The *Xin zhi lingtai yixiang zhi* and the *Yixiang tu*, cf. Halsberghe, *passim*, esp. pp. 5-6.

Guangxian, to break with astronomical data recorded in the classics meant questioning the wisdom of Yao, Shun and even Confucius, whose merit was to pass on the teachings of his predecessors.

Yang rejected the western astronomical system, not only because it was western ('barbarian'), but also because the Jesuits presented it as something new. To Yang, the patterns of the cosmos had always been there and nothing new could be discovered. Moreover, some of the elements, presented by the Jesuits as novelties, were simply the result of what was a different approach from that of Chinese astronomers. He rejected the telescope on the grounds that it only enlarged what was already there (though small) and could not substitute the eyes of a *junzi* who knew what to look for.

In his writings Yang tried to demonstrate that the method of the Jesuits was not always as correct as they claimed and that therefore the argument of accuracy was not sufficient to warrant its replacing the Chinese system. And, even if the old method were to be proved incorrect, this was only a technical, numerical matter. As methods were bound to fail, he argued that the different departments of the Astronomical Bureau should be retained in order to compare the respective calculations.

Yang acknowledged that he did not understand the method for calendar computation, but claimed to have an understanding of the all-pervading principle behind cosmology because he was a Confucian. He used the character *li* as a reference to the 'substance, truth' of the cosmos (*ti*) rather than to geometrical constructions, as it was used by the Jesuits.

By claiming that their method was entirely correct, the Jesuits in fact claimed that they also understood the principle of the cosmos; that they were sages, and this Yang Guangxian could not allow. The real importance of the calendar was that it regulated human actions. Hence, his famous remark that despite a deficient astronomical method the Han had flourished for 400 years, and that it was better to have a deficient Chinese system than a western one, should be understood in this light. The Han had flourished precisely because they had understood the Principle.

Contrary to the position of many of his contemporaries, Yang's answer to the incompatibility of computational

astronomy and cosmology was a subordination of the former to the latter. Accuracy of method was not as important as moral behaviour, Confucian morality of course. This morality had been perfect in the actions of the sages and their writings, as e.g. the hexagrams of the *Changes*, were moral guides.

Whether an astronomical system was rejected or kept, should, in Yang's eyes, not be decided on the basis of the accuracy of method, but of its adherence to the Principle of cosmos. For Yang, astronomy had to be 'a science' and could not be reduced to its computational aspect.

Unfortunately for Yang, the controversy of 1664-1669 was decided on the level of *fa*, and there Yang could not compete. He was later vindicated because the Kangxi emperor and his successors effectively turned the Qing dynasty into an example of Confucian orthodoxy and the western astronomical ideas were reduced to outgrowths of the ancient Chinese system, thus denying the claim of being an alternative to the Chinese approach of man and the cosmos.

The conflict between Yang Guangxian and the Jesuits, especially Ferdinand Verbiest and Adam Schall, reflects the tension between the Confucian scholar and the technical expert that had become especially strong due to Zhu Xi's attitude. However, this tension was inherent to the Chinese culture as such, and was not caused primarily by the 'barbarian' origin of the Jesuits.

To return to the topic of the conference: although Verbiest focused on arguments related to calendar calculation to attack Yang Guangxian, both recognised the humanistic relevance of the calendar and astronomy; for both parties, science was more than mere science; it was proof of a divine world order for the Jesuits and provided a Confucian moral guide for Yang.

A CONFUCIAN ECHO OF WESTERN HUMANIST CULTURE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHINA

David E. Mungello

I.

Humanism is a rich term with several different meanings in history. Renaissance humanism involved the retrieval and careful study of texts from classical antiquity - that of ancient Greece and Rome from the time of Homer (ca. 800 B.C.) until the fourth century A.D.. Partly as an outgrowth of focusing on these texts, there developed an emphasis on human concerns, an emphasis that was cultivated in deliberate contrast to the more otherworldly concerns of the late Middle Ages.

The evolution in our own day of secular humanism with its deliberate cultivation of atheism or agnosticism has given the misleading impression that Renaissance humanism shared an aversion to religion. Such an impression is contradicted by the movement of Christian humanism that was led by D. Erasmus (1466-1536). Certainly the Jesuit missionaries in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China who cultivated humanistic culture did not feel it was atheistic, though clearly the intellectual dispositions of the missionaries differed. While some missionaries in China cultivated humanist themes, others preferred more explicitly theological topics.

A third sense of humanism was developed by the Confucian tradition in China. The teachings of the Chinese ancient sages as interpreted by Confucius (551?-479? B.C.) exalted distinctly human qualities. These qualities were embodied in the Five Perennial Virtues (*wu chang*) of benevolence, righteousness/morality, ritual, wisdom and belief as well as in the Five Human Relationships (*wu lun*) of ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger, and friends. There was an implicit spiritual foundation underlying Confucian humanism. Though Confucius himself did not emphasise cultivating spiritual phenomena, other literati were more inclined toward this dimension in their spiritual cultivation.

The late classical historian, W. Jaeger (1888-1961), clearly established an historical link between western classical humanism and theology. He argued that Plato first coined the word *theologia* (theology) and established this new concept as the centre of all philosophical thought.¹ Aristotle is said to have inherited this concept of theology from Plato and called his first philosophy "theology," although later Aristotelians changed the name to "metaphysics." The early Christian church encountered these ideas of Plato and Aristotle indirectly through the theocentric philosophy of Neoplatonism.² There was not only a general intellectual affinity between Christian dogmatic thinking and Greek philosophical theology, but there was also a deeper affinity of spirit. St. Paul in the *Acts of the Apostles* acknowledged the task of synthesis of Greek culture and Christian spirit. Jaeger argued that this synthesis culminated in the works of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas who blended Platonism and Aristotelianism with the Christian faith.³

Christian humanism stems from an approach to learning that began in Italy during the fourteenth century and was associated with the Italian Renaissance. Humanism was a new approach to learning, a new way of thinking and writing rather than a particular philosophy or theology. It was an intellectual instrument rather than a creed. Its techniques were developed primarily through the study of the texts of classical Greek and Latin, but included other languages, such as Hebrew.

Christian humanism involved a broad blending of Christian and classical cultures on the assumption that the body of classical Greek and Roman literature contained nothing that was incompatible with Christianity. Furthermore, it was believed that a new system of education would enable the full realisation of Christian society. Because the nature of man was fundamentally good, although corrupted by original sin, it could be improved by education.⁴ This emphasis on education as a form of moral cultivation resonated remarkably well with Confucian moral cultivation in China.

¹ W. Jaeger, *Humanism and Theology*, Milwaukee, 1943, p. 46.

² Jaeger, p. 58.

³ Jaeger, pp. 62-64.

⁴ M. P. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism 1453-1517*, New York, 1952, pp. 205-206.

The noted Renaissance scholar, P. O. Kristeller, argued that there were many scholars and thinkers with humanist training who had a genuine concern for religious problems. He believed that the application of humanist training to the source materials of Christian theology was an important factor in the changes that Christianity underwent during this period.⁵ This involved an attack on the sterility of Scholastic method and an emphasis on returning to the classics of Christianity, namely, the Bible and writings of the Church Fathers.

The use of this new learning cut across religious and nationalistic lines and produced Erasmus' edition of the Greek New Testament, Luther's German translation of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek, and the English translation of the Bible produced under the direction of King James I. Notable among the Christian humanists were the Jesuits, many of whom were excellent classical scholars and Latin writers. The Jesuits based the very successful curriculum in their schools on the humanistic disciplines. The tradition of humanist learning survived alongside of Aristotelian Scholasticism to shape minds in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century universities as far separated as Leiden, Oxford, Padua and Salamanca.⁶

In Spain, the tools of humanism had first been used by Cardinal Ximenes (Jiménez de Cisneros, 1436-1517), an austere Franciscan who was elevated to high offices in Spain, including confessor to Queen Isabella. In addition to reforming the Spanish friars and nuns, he founded the university of Alcalá (Latin: *Complutum*). Cardinal Ximenes' reform programme embraced both the older Scholasticism and the new humanism. In opposition to the exclusive proponents of the Vulgate text of the Bible, who despised both Hebrew as the language of the Jews and Greek as the language of heretics, Cardinal Ximenes welcomed Jewish converts and foreign scholars and promoted the principles of biblical humanism.⁷ The result of this scholarship was the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (1522)

⁵ P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: the Classic, Scholastic and Humanist Strains*, New York, 1961, p. 75.

⁶ Kristeller, p. 87.

⁷ A. G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation*, New York, 1968, pp. 45-46.

printed with parallel texts of the Hebrew, Latin Vulgate and Greek Septuagint.

II.

Western humanism was presented to China in the seventeenth century, primarily by Italian Jesuits. The cosmopolitan, sophisticated and open-minded outlook of Italian Jesuits, such as M. Ricci (1552-1610), G. Aleni (1582-1649) and M. Martini (1614-1661), was imbued with humanism. By contrast, the missionaries of Portugal and Spain tended to be more insular, contentious and militant in their approaches. Their conquistador mentality was a heritage of Iberian voyages and conquests that had built the Portuguese and Spanish empires during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Iberian success in these endeavours had reinforced their own sense of cultural superiority and chauvinism. By contrast, Renaissance humanism had cultivated a more international outlook in the Italians and the lack of an empire comparable to the Iberians, or even of a unified nation, enabled Italians to maintain this more cosmopolitan outlook.

Nevertheless, there were gradations of colouring among these groups. The China Jesuits included within their ranks Portuguese Jesuits, such as, Frs. G. de Magalhães (1610-1677) and S. (T.) Pereira (1645-1708), who tended to be highly contentious and less open-minded than their Italian confrères. And among the Franciscan missionaries in China was a Friar Caballero whose genial and flexible nature enabled him to work in remarkable harmony with the Jesuits. The work of this Franciscan enables us more clearly to define the humanism of the Jesuits.

Antonio Caballero a Santa Maria (Li Andang) was born in April of 1602 in Baltanás in the province of Palencia in Spain.⁸

⁸ Biographies of Fr. Caballero are found in P. Lorenzo Pérez, OFM, "Los Franciscanos en el extremo Oriente," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* II (1909), pp. 548-560; III (1910), pp. 39-46; P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, OFM., ed., *Sinica Franciscana*, Firenze, 1933, vol. 2, pp. 317-332; Fang Hao, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan*, Hong Kong, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 108-111; Fang Hao, *Fang Hao liushi ziding gao*, Taipei, 1969, pp. 234-235; Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, edited by L. Carrington Goodrich, New York, 1976, pp. 24-31.

He studied the humanities at the University of Salamanca where he entered the Franciscan Order (Friars Minor) on March 24th 1618, just prior to his sixteenth birthday. He professed his vows exactly one year later (March 25th 1619) at the Calvario convent of San Pablo province.

The city of Salamanca has long been a centre of religious life with its many seminaries and convents, which include the Carmelite convent founded by Saint Teresa of Avila (1515-1582), who remains a patroness of the diocese. For five hundred years Salamanca and its university were the centre of Spanish cultural life and Caballero studied there at the very end of its golden age around 1600 when there were 2 cathedrals, 28 parishes, 25 convents, 25 monasteries, 25 men's colleges and 2 women's colleges.⁹ In the sixteenth century, the University of Salamanca had ranked with Oxford and Paris as one of the largest centers of learning and its enrollment peaked in 1601 with 4,000 students.¹⁰ Although a gradual decline set in after this period, there were still 3,908 students enrolled in 1641 and so Caballero studied there near the peak of its enrollment. Consequently, he was trained at one of the leading universities in Europe and, although Spain had already entered into its long decline, cultural attitudes are often slow in recognising such declines. Consequently, Caballero might easily have felt that he had received the finest education to be had anywhere in the world.

At Salamanca, Caballero was exposed to both the Scholastic and humanist traditions. His absorption of humanism appears to have tempered the conquistador attitude common among Spaniards, though his genial nature may also have contributed. The result was that Caballero's intellectual approach in China lay somewhere between that of his Spanish confrères and the Italian Jesuits. Caballero's more open-minded attitude toward Chinese culture differed from that found among most other mendicants, such as the Dominican D. Navarrete (1618-1686)

⁹ G. M. Colomba, "Salamanca," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Washington, D.C., 1967, vol. 12, pp. 976-977.

¹⁰ M. B. Murphy, "University of Salamanca," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, pp. 977-980.

who was hostile toward the Confucian literati, though otherwise admiring of China.¹¹

III.

Shang Huqing (styled alternately Tianmin and Weitang) was born in Shanyang in southern Shandong province around 1619.¹² He attained the *juren* degree in 1639 and was given official appointments. He was serving as the district magistrate, the senior official, in the Wei district in Shandong province when in 1659 some difficulty caused him to be dismissed from this post prior to the completion of his term. He then made his home in Jinan where he came into contact with missionaries there, including Friar Caballero.

When Shang became a Christian, he took the new *ming* (given name) of Shiji. It is not clear when this happened and quite possibly he had already been baptised before meeting Caballero. In a letter to the Franciscan father provincial of March 7th 1659, Caballero expressed frustration that he had not yet been successful in converting a single literatus to Christianity in spite of extended discussion and debate with numerous literati.¹³ However, since Shang arrived in Jinan in 1659 and quite possibly after this letter was written, Caballero's comments of frustration with literati might have been made before his contact with Shang. This raises the possibility that Shang might have been brought to Christianity and baptised by Caballero.

The relationship between Shang and Caballero is made more difficult to define by the fact that I have been unable to locate a single reference to Shang in Caballero's letters and reports to the Franciscan provincial. Such omissions were not unusual among China missionaries, including the Jesuits. One reason was that Chinese names were difficult to transliterate into European languages, given the lack of a fully developed

¹¹ See J. S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China*, Aldershot, England, 1993, pp. 98, 113-114 and 138.

¹² Fang Hao, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao...*, vol. 2, p. 112; Fang Hao, *Fang Hao liushi...*, pp. 234-235.

¹³ A. Wyngaert, ed., *Sinicana Franciscana*, Firenze, 1933, vol. 2, p. 469.

system of Romanisation. An even greater reason for the omission of Chinese names is that the authors of these reports were choosing their words very carefully. Collaboration between a Franciscan missionary and a Confucian literatus would have been viewed by some Franciscans with suspicion.

The second of the missionaries with whom Shang had contact in Jinan was the Jesuit Father Jean Valat (Wang Ruwang). Valat was born in "Aniciensis," Le Puy, in southeastern France, probably in 1614.¹⁴ He entered the novitiate in 1632 and studied theology at Toulouse where he was ordained in 1642. He embarked from Europe in August of 1645 and arrived in India in 1647 where he spent four years. He took his final vows in December of 1650 in Macao, whereupon he visited a number of mission sites in eastern China, including Hangzhou; Shanghai in 1651; Shandong province in 1652; and arrived in Peking in 1656. In Peking Fr. Valat assisted Fr. A. Schall and was permitted to go outside of the city walls to evangelise in the neighbouring towns.¹⁵ While in Peking, he witnessed several visits of the Shunzhi emperor to the mission quarters. In 1660 Valat went to Jinan to minister to the Christians there.

After Fr. Valat's arrival at Jinan, he and Caballero worked together in remarkable collaboration, operating out of the East Church and West Church, respectively. Shang's close relationship with these two missionaries is confirmed by the comment in his preface to *Tian Ru yin* where he speaks of holding long discussions with them over abstruse points in the Heavenly Teaching that lasted "from morning until night".¹⁶

¹⁴ The 1614 date for Fr. Valat's birth is given in C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels & Paris, 1890f., vol. 8, col. 412 with a question mark in Dehergne, p. 278. Some confusion exists about Fr. Valat's birthdate because the tombstone on his grave in Jinan stated that he was 97 years old at his death (Pfister, p. 280n). Since his date of death is clearly recorded as October 7th 1696, if this tombstone inscription is accurate, then he would have been born in 1599.

¹⁵ Pfister, 280.

¹⁶ *Tian Ru yin* (hereafter cited TRY), Shang preface, p. 2a.

IV.

The frustration of working with the literati that Caballero expressed in 1659 stemmed from his attempt to compose books in Chinese that were aimed at the Confucian literati and other literate members of Chinese society. In a letter to the Franciscan father provincial dated November of 1653, Caballero wrote of writing in that year three books in Chinese. He described the first book as containing fundamentals from Chinese books, apparently the Confucian classics, in order to establish recognition among the Chinese of “the Creator and Lord of Heaven and Earth, to whom one should alone worship and make sacrifice, and not to any other”.¹⁷

Caballero described the second book as drawing from the fundamentals of Chinese books, again probably the Confucian classics, to prove the vanity of their idols, superstitions and sacrifices. Caballero’s argument drew from the Bible (the apocryphal book of *Wisdom*, chapter 14), natural law and the Ten Commandments. The third book is said to contain explanations of the three Christian virtues - faith, hope and charity. He drew from the Chinese books to emphasise their commitment to following the truth. Caballero also states that in this third book he introduced fundamental Christian notions of the Trinity, the Creed and Heaven and Hell, using appropriate examples.

Although three Chinese works are credited to Caballero, it is not easy to make direct links between the descriptions of these three books composed in 1653 and the three extant Chinese works attributed to Caballero. The latter three works are: *Tian Ru yin* (Confucianism and Christianity compared), *Zhengxue liushi* (The touchstone of true knowledge), and *Wanwu benmo yueyan* (A brief summary of the beginning and end of all things). The general similarities between the earlier and later works are clear: the three extant Chinese works draw upon the Confucian Four Books to support Christian teachings; there is some criticism of Chinese idolatry; and basic Christian teachings are explained. However, it appears that the specific

¹⁷ A. Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 2, p. 427.

content of the three works evolved considerably between 1653 and the final form that they took in and around 1664.

Caballero's intellectual disposition appears to have been somewhat malleable and influenced by personal contacts, certainly far more so than most other Spanish missionaries. Humanist themes, such as friendship, could serve as a bridge between peoples of different cultures. The difference between Italian Jesuits, such as Ricci and Martini, and Caballero is that the Italian Jesuits' intellectual dispositions were firmly planted in humanist concerns whereas Caballero was merely amenable to using humanist themes if they would promote cordial relations with his companions. This explains why Caballero's reasoning was sometimes more accommodating than at other times.

I would like to suggest a thesis that complicates the direction of influence of humanistic culture presented by the European missionaries in China. It seems that western historians are too prone to see only a one-way influence flowing in varying degrees from the European missionaries to the Chinese literati. However, there is good reason to believe that certain European missionaries were open to being influenced by the Chinese, though not necessarily in strict matters of theology. Instead of Caballero presenting humanistic culture to Shang, it appears that the Confucian humanism of Shang Huqing had the effect of eliciting certain humanistic themes from Caballero and that these themes influenced the revision of Caballero's Chinese works. The two works with which Shang was clearly involved (*Tian Ru yin* and *Zhengxue liushi*) reflect a far more accommodating tone toward Chinese culture and contain numerous knowledgeable references to Confucian classics. By contrast, Caballero's third Chinese work (*Wanwu benmo yueyan*), with which Shang was apparently not involved, focuses entirely upon explaining Christian teachings in a European manner and without reference to Chinese texts or indigenous terms.

V.

Caballero worked closely with the Christian literatus Shang Huqing in studying the Confucian classics (specifically, the Four Books) and in composing apologetic treatises in Chinese

aimed at a literati audience. And yet some residue of the conquistador mentality persisted in Caballero and this made him apply his humanistic learning in less accommodating ways than the Italian Jesuits.

The Italian Jesuits Ricci and Martini appealed to the literati by writing Chinese treatises on friendship, a popular humanist theme. They drew from the Roman statesman, orator and Stoic philosopher Cicero (106-43 B.C.) and from the statesman, writer and Stoic philosopher Seneca (4 B.C. - A.D. 65). Ricci wrote a dialogue in imitation of Cicero's essay *De Amicitia* (On friendship) entitled *Jiaoyou lun* (A discussion of relations between friends). The work is dated the first lunar month of 1595 and has two prefaces - one by Qu Rukui dated the first lunar month of 1599 and the other by Feng Yingjing dated the first lunar month of 1601.¹⁸ Martini revisited the theme of friendship by drawing from Cicero and Seneca to write *Qiuyou pian* (An essay on friendship).¹⁹ This work contains two prefaces - one undated by Zhang Anmao who identifies himself as a "West Lake traveller" (*Xihu lüke*) and a second preface by Xu Erjue dated the sixth (?) lunar month of 1661.

Caballero revealed a familiarity with these same Roman authors who were favourites of the European humanists. He cited Cicero, Seneca and "the Christian Cicero" Lactantius (born ca. 250) who was a pagan from Africa who converted to Christianity and was appointed by the Roman emperor Constantine to tutor his son Crispus. However, the context - a letter - in which Caballero used them was completely different from the treatises on friendship by Ricci and Martini. Caballero's letter dated December 9th 1668 at Canton was addressed to Fr. Luis da Gama, Jesuit Visitor of the Provinces of China and Japan. Unlike Ricci's and Martini's treatises which were written in Chinese and aimed at the literati, Caballero's letter was written in Spanish and was intended to be an

¹⁸ Li Madou [Matteo Ricci], *Jiaoyou lun*, reprinted in Li Zhizao ed., *Tianxue chuhan* (The first collection of writings on the Heavenly Teaching), 52 *juan*, 1628, repr. Taipei, 1965, vol. I, pp. 291-320. Also see Pfister, p. 35.

¹⁹ Wei Kuangguo (M. Martini), *Qiuyou pian*, reprinted in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian sanbian* (The third collection of documents on the spread of Catholicism to the East). 3 vols, Wu Xiangxiang ed., Taipei, 1972, vol. 1, pp. 1-88. Also see Pfister, p. 260.

internal document not for distribution to the public. The eventual publication of this document in French translation at Paris in 1701 was a result of its exploitation by the opponents of the Jesuits in the Chinese Rites Controversy.²⁰

One of the leading figures in Christian humanism who expanded "the art of criticism" (*ars critica*) to include the Bible was Erasmus.²¹ Christian humanists like Erasmus advocated a return to original sources of Christian doctrine, such as the Bible and the Latin and Greek Church Fathers. They emphasised an extensive editing and correction of these ancient texts. Whereas humanists north of the Alps, particularly in Germany, England and partly in Spain, were more concerned with theology and religion, the Italian humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were more secular in their concerns.²²

The humanist influence that Caballero brought to bear on Shang Huqing received its echo in Shang's Confucian humanism. The work *Tian Ru yin* (1664) interprets passages from the Confucian Four Books in terms of Christianity. The work is attributed to Caballero, but it is impossible that Caballero would have acquired the facility in literary Chinese to write a book of this sophistication without assistance from a Chinese literatus. Shang Huqing was that literatus. Not only did he write a preface for the work, but his name appears on the first page following Caballero's and is identified as the editor (literally, "comparer and examiner"). Caballero was an unusual Franciscan. Although his outlook was clearly Franciscan in many ways, he was more open to other points of view than most friars and he had an amicable relationship with numerous Jesuits, including Schall. It was in part at Schall's recommendation

²⁰ Antoine de Sainte-Marie [Antonio Caballero a Santa Maria], *Traité sur quelques points importants de la mission de la Chine*, Paris, 1701, reprinted in C. Kortholt ed., *Leibnizii epistolae ad diversos*, Leipzig, 1735, vol. II, pp. 348, 358 & 361. The original manuscript of Caballero's letter to the Visitor da Gama, "Tratado sobre algunos puntos tocantes a esta mission de la gran China," is preserved in the Romae Arch S.C.P.F., *Scritture originali*, 1677, t. 4.

²¹ R. Wellek, "Literary Criticism", in P. Wiener ed., *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. I, p. 596.

²² P. Herde, "Humanism in Italy", *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. II, p. 520.

that Caballero went to Jinan in the province of Shandong where he arrived in October of 1650 to assume leadership of a Christian community that the Jesuits had been forced to abandon.

VI.

The contents of *Tian Ru yin* consist of quotations from the Four Books (*Analects*, *Mencius*, *Great Learning* and *Doctrine of the Mean*) which are interpreted in a Christian context. The work appears to be a blending of both European humanist and Confucian textual concerns. The Italian Jesuits (Ruggieri and Ricci) had instituted the study of the Four Books in the late sixteenth century and this study had produced a collaborative translation into Latin. *Tian Ru yin* appears to have been an extension of that concern but with an emphasis on interpreting the text in harmony with Christianity rather than with translating it.

Tian Ru yin consists of sixty pages which include a title page, a preface by Wei Xuequ (5 pages), an introduction by Shang Huqing (4 pages) and a text divided into thirty-seven sections (50 pages). Each of these sections contains at least one passage from the Confucian Four Books which it attempts to interpret as being in harmony with Christianity. Passages from the *Analects* are cited most often (23 times), followed by the *Doctrine of the Mean* (15 times), *Mencius* (5 times) and the *Great Learning* (3 times).

The interpretation of Chinese texts with Christian meaning caused Caballero sometimes to differ with other interpreters, such as the leading Neo-Confucian thinker, Zhu Xi (1130-1200), but these differences are not usually radical. For example, whereas Zhu Xi interpreted the character *qin* (loving) in the phrase "loving the people" from the opening passage of the *Great Learning* to mean "renewing," (*xin*), Caballero preferred the interpretation of "loving" for obvious reasons of its greater affinity to Christian teachings.²³ Since the Chinese commentarial tradition prior to Zhu Xi had also supported the

²³ TRY, p. 1b.

meaning of “loving” rather than “renewing,” Caballero’s interpretation was certainly defensible. More radical was Caballero’s interpretation of the next phrase in the Great Learning which spoke of “abiding in the highest good”.²⁴ Caballero interpreted “the highest good” to refer to the transcendent nature of the Lord of Heaven (*Tianzhu*).²⁵ Likewise, in regard to the passage from the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*), chapter 22, “only by cultivating sincerity to the fullest extent possible can one completely develop one’s nature,” Caballero regarded “the highest sincerity” (*zhi cheng*) as referring to the Lord of Heaven.²⁶

Although Caballero normally does not emphasise direct conflicts between his interpretation and the established interpretations of the Confucian tradition, he does so in regard to a passage from the *Doctrine of the Mean*, chapter 24, namely, “it is characteristic of the utmost sincerity to have the ability of foreknowledge [of events].” Caballero interprets this to mean that sages can have foreknowledge of events not by their own powers but through the power of the Lord of Heaven.²⁷ People who use the false art of divination to cast horoscopes are said by Caballero to be engaging in the worst kind of false talk.

Caballero also criticises the Chinese of his day for failing to see the deeper significance of the classical texts. He cites chapter 26.10 of the *Mean* which, in turn, cites from the Classic of Songs (*Shijing*) as follows: “The commands of Heaven - how beautiful and unceasing”.²⁸ Caballero states that contemporary Chinese show reverence for the physical heaven while failing to understand that the physical heaven is merely a large instrument that covers things. The Lord of Heaven transcends this.

Producing a work like *Tian Ru yin* required a very close collaboration between Caballero and Shang. Many of the ideas voiced in the work are clearly European or Christian in origin,

²⁴ Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963, p. 86.

²⁵ TRY, p. 1b-2a.

²⁶ TRY, p. 6b.

²⁷ TRY, p. 7a-b.

²⁸ *Shijing* ode no. 267, Legge tr. IV, ii, II.1 (p. 570), cited in TRY, p. 9a.

such as, the Aristotelian Four Elements (Earth, Air, Fire and Water) and the Four Last Things (Death, Judgement, Hell and Heaven). There are passages in *Tian Ru yin* where it appears that Shang Huqing rather than Caballero is writing, such as, in an explication of *Analects*, chapter 2:16, in which Confucius said: "The study of heterodox (i.e. false) teachings (*yiduan*) is harmful." Zhu Xi's commentary gives the standard interpretation that such heterodoxy is exemplified by the extremist teachings of Yang Zhu (440-360 B.C.?) who taught egoistic withdrawal from the world and Mo Di (Mozi) (fl. 479-438 B.C.) who taught an indiscriminating universal love.²⁹ Zhu Xi went on to quote the Song Neo-Confucian philosopher Cheng Yi (1033-1107) as saying that "the words of Master Buddha were closer to principle than those of Yang Zhu and Mo Di." However Caballero (Shang?) states in the commentary on "heterodox teachings": "Why is it that today [the teachings of] Sakyamuni Buddha spread across the land in a troubling way and many recite the Dharma (Buddhist Law)?"³⁰ This sort of criticism of Buddhism was commonly made by Confucian literati. What raises the possibility that Shang was the author is the reference in this passage to "our literati" (*wu ru*). While this phrase appears commonly in the writings of Chinese Christians of this time, such as Zhang Xingyao (1633-1715+), it would be inappropriate for use by a European.³¹ A likely explanation is that Shang was rephrasing the words - whether written or spoken - of Caballero and, in the process, this phrase "our literati" slipped in. It indicates just how close their collaboration was in writing this work. It was a collaboration reinforced by the humanist traditions of Europe and China. It was a Confucian echo of western humanistic culture in seventeenth-century China.

²⁹ Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, p. 12b.

³⁰ TRY, p. 13b.

³¹ For a discussion of Zhang Xingyao's frequent use of the term "literati" to refer to both the Confucian scholar-officials and the Jesuit missionaries, see D. E. Mungello, *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou*, Honolulu, 1994, pp. 79, 84 and 104.

SOME NAIVE QUESTIONS
ABOUT THE RITES CONTROVERSY
- A PROJECT FOR FUTURE RESEARCH -

Kristofer Schipper

“There is a comfortable assumption in the roots of our culture that foreigners know no true spiritual religion.”

Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 73

I do not have to remind the reader of the incredible amount of literature devoted to the Chinese Rites Controversy. * Books and essays have been pouring out on the subject since the early seventeenth century and, although the controversy has been declared defunct time and again, the end is, by all reckonings, not in sight. Before adding yet another item to the bulk of papers, I should perhaps justify myself.

There are good reasons why sinologists should not get involved with the Chinese Rites Controversy. As Erik Zürcher has very aptly said, it is by and large a European problem, a “querelle” between congregations, Vatican factions, and national political interests from which the Chinese were altogether absent and which, in consequence, does not truly concern them.¹

On the other hand, there are also reasons why research

* I would like to express my indebtedness and warmest thanks to Adrianus Dudink, whose generosity and erudition has greatly helped me to find my way in this vast subject which is new to me. Needless to say, he is in no way responsible for the views expressed in this paper.

¹ E. Zürcher, “Jesuit Accommodation and the Chinese Cultural Imperative”, *International Symposium on The Significance of the Chinese Rites Controversy in Sino-Western History*, 1992, pp. 1-2.

might be devoted, perhaps not to the controversy itself, but to some of the issues involved. As Paul A. Rule reminds us, "Confucius" and "Confucianism" are truly Jesuit inventions.² This is truly a problem.

The Jesuit opinions, first formulated by Matteo Ricci and developed or qualified by his colleagues or successors have been inordinately amplified by the Chinese Rites Controversy, and thus it is not exaggerated to say that the perception of China in the West has been strongly influenced by it.

From the very beginning, the Jesuit interpretation has been justly suspected of being biased and self-serving. At the same time, Ricci's "finest hour" set out a tantalising example for the harmonious ("in the name of friendship") integration of Chinese and Christian spiritual values. The gap between the two positions has since haunted a great many intellects. In this century, the scientific domination of the West has resulted in a considerable feedback of the western concept of Confucianism to China, especially perceptible in so-called "New Confucianism". The Confucian confusion being now as it is, who else than impartial specialists can re-establish some kind of objective truth?

My purpose here is not to enter in this kind of weighty arguments. I became attracted to the Chinese Rites Controversy because I am interested in ritual *per se*, an interest which is the result of fieldwork experiences which confronted me with the overwhelming importance of ritual practice in traditional Chinese society. I thus have wondered what the Jesuits knew of the Chinese rites and also whether their eyewitness reports might yield some new and important information. In a more general perspective, I also wondered what the confrontation of two entirely different liturgical traditions might produce in insights as to their mutual perception and interaction. To what extent their respective adaptability or permeability - the "hard" and the "soft" sectors - might contribute to our understanding of Chinese ritual culture.

After having read through some of the source material and

² P.A. Rule, *K'ung-tzu or Confucius? - The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucianism*, London, 1986, preface.

seeing that, with exceptions, much of it covered again and again the same ground, the same arguments and the same ideas, I came to recognise that my questions were naive. The Chinese Rites Controversy only very marginally concerns ritual.

The Jesuits may have compared their philosophical ideas with those of their Chinese friends, but it never occurred to them that one could compare rituals too. Ricci may have wished to know more about Chinese rites, and that may be the reason why his friend and disciple Li Zhizao wrote his *Pangong liyue shu* which however was published well after Ricci's death.³ I will try to say more about this book later. So even if the Chinese Rites Controversy was not about rites, it did generate - if the above hypothesis is valid - some kind of comparison between ritual systems. In this respect, it may still be interesting today to compare the two ritual traditions, and see if this comparison can yield a few insights.

One can think of a number of issues. One is the presence of professional ritual specialists (the Jesuits) versus laymen not officially trained for liturgical services, yet in charge of a sacrificial tradition (the literati). The fact that the Jesuits were professionals no doubt must have had an impact on the way they were perceived by the Chinese scholars. Anthropologists such as Mary Douglas tend to think that the status of ritual specialists is related to a pronounced social hierarchy and a social ethos of piety toward authority. Societies with a weaker hierarchy do not produce such specialists.⁴ Needless to say, this theory is at variance with the generally accepted image of Chinese society and especially that of the literati class, which is seen as being extremely hierarchical. The theory may therefore be all wrong, or should at least be adapted. At the same time, the possibility that we have to qualify our image of the literati class can also not be excluded.

Another interesting issue, and possibly an important one, is that of the relation between ritual and belief as seen in Roman Catholicism and in Confucianism respectively. Catherine Bell shows that although traditionally anthropology tends to assume

³ *Pangong liyue shu*, 8 juan. Original Ming edition of approximately 1615, reprinted by the National Central Library, Taipei, 1970, 2 vols.

⁴ M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, New York, 1973, pp. 86-87, quoted by C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, New York, 1992, p. 130

a close association of rite with belief, this assumption is "challenged by growing evidence that most symbolic action, even the basic symbols of a community's ritual life, can be very unclear to participants or interpreted by them in very dissimilar ways".⁵ It can be observed that societies that tend to be self-centred set great store by strict *ritual practice*, but do not impose any dogmatic rules as to the interpretation, that is the "meaning" of the rites. Universal religions, however, tend either to diminish the centrality of ritual observance, or simplify and localise the place of ritual, by making, for instance, a clear distinction between "sacred" and "profane". The fact that this dichotomy did not apply in China - or in any case concerned very different areas of human behaviour than in the West - created a number of interpretative difficulties for the Jesuits, difficulties which still exist for many western observers of China today.

Roman Catholicism, and Christian missions in general, may be said to have minimised, at least theoretically, the pre-eminence of ritual in favour of a larger form of obedience qualified as "*belief*", making a strict separation between believers and non-believers. However, the Confucians may have been, according to Ricci, atheists, but they were by no means agnostic. Also, as Ricci himself remarked, there was in China a high degree of religious freedom, of which he himself benefited in no small degree. The fact that he consistently interprets this freedom and tolerance as a fundamental flaw of the Chinese, as a sign of their moral depravity, is not very generous to say the least. It also shows that there is more to Ricci's attitude towards the Chinese rites than meets the eye of the average observer.

Also one gains the impression that the Jesuits did not set great store with ritual observance, but stressed *belief* and *faith*, whereas the Chinese literati were narrow observers of the ritual code but not very advanced in spirituality. This is not true at all. Roman Catholicism in the sixteenth century was by no means anti-ritualistic. And Matteo Ricci had to recognise, like many missionaries after him, the great strength of the religious faith of the Chinese.

⁵ Bell, pp. 182-183. Compare also K. Schipper, "Seigneurs royaux, dieux des épidémies", *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* 59, 1, Paris, 1985, pp. 31-41.

Ricci and the Rites

Let us now look briefly at the history of the Rites Controversy. From the beginning, Ricci seems to be the central figure. Although Longobardo, Ricci's successor as chief of the Roman Catholic mission, may have had his misgivings about the accommodation policy as Ricci played it, the Rites Controversy, as is well known, does only begin with the arrival in Fujian of the Dominican friars from Manila. When a flabbergasted Antonio and his colleague De Morales turned, in 1634, to Aleni and the other Jesuits to ask them who had allowed the Chinese to continue their ancestor worship, the sacrifice to Confucius and the cult of Chenghuang, the unanimous answer was: "Ricci".⁶

In December 1603, Ricci is supposed to have given instructions to the effect that the converts were allowed to continue the observances in honour of Confucius and the ancestor ceremonies. Ray R. Noll of the Ricci Institute in California has no doubt on the authenticity of this "history-making directive on the rites" although it is "no longer extant".⁷ Bierman believes a kind of document by Ricci on this issue must have existed, but that the Jesuits of later ages destroyed it. Rule, in a very well argued study, rejects the possibility that Ricci ever pronounced any directives on the rites matter, his attitude being, at all times, very cautious.

Whatever may be the truth in this matter, the scope and purpose of the "accommodation" or "tolerance" policy can be judged from the 1645 document of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, approved by Pope Innocent X.⁸ The cult of the Chenghuang is allowed, whereas the rites for Confucius and the ancestors are entirely forbidden. The reasoning behind this distinction is specious to say the least. It is clear that the Vatican is lacking information and Ricci's writings do little to clarify the debate. His attitude on what is

⁶ B. P. Bierman *Die Anfänge der neueren Dominicanermission in China*, Aachen, 1927, pp. 43-51, 169-170.

⁷ *One Hundred Roman Documents Concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy*, San Francisco, 1992, p. VII.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 1-5.

permissible or not is ambiguous. It is easy to point to the many inconsistencies in his reports. It is equally easy to point out a number of mistakes in his judgement of what is what. All this does not need to retain us here. The very originality of Ricci's attitude is elsewhere.

The understanding of the history of the "accommodation" in China can benefit from the comparison with the similar and contemporary case of the Malabar rites and the corresponding controversy.⁹ The Jesuit mission in India in the beginning of the seventeenth century encountered great difficulties in the propagation of the Christian faith. Sure, in Goa, there was no problem because violent measures had been taken in order to *compelle intrare* the indigenous population. But outside the colony, these bloody practices could not be applied. Converts had to become *topas*, that is, so thoroughly European that they became "Pranquis" (Frenchies), and this made them outcasts. In 1605, the young Jesuit Roberto De Nobili was sent to Madurai. He adopted the vestments and ritual signs (string, face paint) of a Brahman priest. He conformed himself very strictly to all the rules and interdictions of the caste. He allowed all his converts to continue whatever rites they were doing before baptism, trying gradually to replace some Hindu practices by Christian ones. Like his colleagues in China, De Nobili believed that the indigenous religious practice - in this case Brahmanism - *in its purest form* was a natural religion, like the religions of ancient Greece and Rome, and therefore not to be condemned *per se*. His adhesion to the Indian rites (in India do as the Indians) consisted of pure formalism, and thus in fact proceeded from a non-ritualistic attitude. The Indians being very tolerant in matters of opinion as long as one observed the rites (the eternal question of orthopraxis versus orthodoxy), a number of conversions were effectively made.

The question whether De Nobili was inspired by the Chinese example is still open for discussion. What is certain is that his methods were authorised by his Jesuit superiors. The "tolerance" of the Malabar rites was withdrawn by De Tournon, during his famous trip as "Patriarch of Antioch" in 1706.

⁹ On this issue I consulted the very detailed discussion in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*.

The history of the Malabar Rites Controversy seems pretty straightforward. The “accommodation” was necessary if there was to be any hope of conversions. The fact that the Brahmins were very religious people was never put into doubt. This was the major difference with the Chinese case, a difference which has haunted the issue ever since. Let us listen to Ricci on the Chinese rites:

Of all the gentiles known to our Europe, I know of no people who fell into fewer errors than the Chinese. From the beginning, one finds in their writings that they have always worshipped a supreme being, named “King of Heaven” or “Heaven and Earth” [...] Nowhere do we read that they created monsters or vice out of this supreme being or from his ministering deities, such as the Romans, the Greeks, and the Egyptians evolved into gods or patrons of vices. Therefore one can hope that in his immense goodness, the Lord has saved many of these ancients, who, in keeping with natural law, were assisted as they must have been by that special help which, as the theologians teach, is denied to no one who does what he can towards salvation, according to the light of his conscience. That they endeavoured to do this is readily determined from their history of more than four thousand years, which really is a record of good deeds done on behalf of their country and for the common good. [...]

Just as fallen human nature continues to degenerate without the help of divine grace, so too, primitive ideas of religion become so obscure with the passing of time, that they are very few who do not descend to the worse error of atheism when they abandon the cult of inanimate gods.

[...]

Most openly they admit that they have no religion, and so by deceiving themselves in pretending to believe, they generally fall into the deepest depths of utter atheism.

Like the Brahmins, the Chinese originally had a form of “natural religion”. Ricci argues that, contrary to the Indians, however, Confucians were no longer religious, because they no longer attached any religious ideas to their rites. For them, it was only a matter of “feeling” and “respect”, and in

consequence, their rites were now just “civil”. Thus Confucianism was not really a ‘sect’ in the strict sense but ‘a learned society’, an ‘academy’ which existed for the good of society, and, as such, Christians could freely belong to it.¹⁰

According to Ricci, therefore, Christians could freely practise Confucian rites. Apparently, Ricci did so himself. Qu Taisu wrote to his superiors of Ricci: “he offers the spring and autumn sacrifices”. Rule concludes that this only indicates that Ricci was not known as an opponent of these practices.¹¹ In my view, the above statement by Qu cannot have been made without anything to support it.

We should, in this context, also study the role of Alessandro Valignano, who appears to have been the very originator of the Indian and Chinese policies of “accommodation”. What makes one wonder is how Valignano, Ricci and De Nobili thought that they could get away with their accommodation or tolerance. Did they think that China and India were too remote to be directly controllable from Rome?

With hindsight it would seem that by no stretch of imagination the Jesuit accommodation could have been allowed by the papal authorities, once they knew the facts. Sure, St. Thomas had once shown a rather open-minded approach when he stated that in countries where the number of infidels was very great and the Christians a minority, in view of the dangers which the converts could encounter by going against the pagan rules, some pagan and heretic rites might be tolerated.¹² But this had been changed by the Council of Trent where it was a question of curbing the tolerance shown to the Protestants. In its desire to unify as much as possible the church, the Council had abolished all national and regional particularities. The reform of the liturgy was especially spectacular inasmuch as it did away, with a stroke of the pen, of all the differences in the rites which had grown all along the history of the Christianisation of Europe.

Trent unified liturgy, allowing no exceptions. Could an exception be made for China? The Council also redefined the status of the clergy versus laity. The separation was very strict,

¹⁰ Rule, p. 46, basing himself on P. D’Elia ed., *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. I, p. 120.

¹¹ Rule, p. 48.

¹² See *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*: “tolérance”.

to the point that no layman could ever wear the priest's vestments, nor the priest ever be seen clothed as a layman. What then to think of the Jesuits, first putting on Buddhist garb, and then Confucian robes?

In a more general way, Post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism was a reaction against the anti-ritualistic trend of the Reformation. It thus imposed the dogma of *ex opere operato*; that is, it was not the state of mind of the officiant (as in China) to determine the efficacy of the sacraments, since these worked by the grace of God on their own strength. In the same way, in the face of the Lutheran return to the pure Christianity of the origins and the belief of the Protestants that "only the Scripture" could be the guide of Christianity, Trent reinforced the rule of the Roman Catholic *tradition* as being equally binding as the original revelation itself.

In conclusion, one may say that the idea of tolerance and accommodation went very much against the spirit of the times in Europe, in many parts of which religious war was still raging. When the question of tolerance did arise, such as through the Edict of Nantes in 1598, it was conceded after military victories by the Protestants, to be thereupon sabotaged as much as possible, and revoked in the worst of possible circumstances in 1685. Should these events not also be linked to the condemnation of the Chinese rites by the Sorbonne in 1700?

Ricci moreover, as we have seen, complicated the issue of tolerance by insisting that the Confucians were not religious. According to him they were atheists, as they did not believe in their gods. His reasoning, in so far as it can be reconstructed may have run like this:

- the Buddhists practice idolatry. The literati reject Buddhism, therefore they are not idolaters.
- The Confucians do not believe in their own "impersonal" deities either, therefore they are atheists.

That many *Ru* of his time were anti-Buddhist is sure. But for the rest of the argumentation, we encounter once more the old problem of the distinction between "sacred" and "profane". This distinction, so forcefully re-imposed by Trent, existed of course in China too, but the boundaries of what is sacred and what is profane in China - as compared to the West - were not

the same! So even if the *Ru* were “atheists” in Ricci’s eyes, they certainly could not be said to have been agnostic.

We have seen the importance of the Malabar Rites Controversy, the Council of Trent and the policy of tolerance in France for the understanding of the Chinese case. But, to this point, the Chinese themselves are still absent from the picture, all the more so due to Ricci, who, by terming them as atheists and the rites as “civil”, evacuated the issue of Chinese rituality altogether. This issue, and the Chinese themselves, do however come forcefully in the picture when one realises that they themselves had had their own rites controversy - the Great Rites Conflict of the Jiajing period - only some thirty years before Ricci set foot on the Chinese soil.

The Jiajing Great Rites Controversy and Other Factors.

We know much about the way liturgy was practised and conceptualised in Europe. We know very little about classical ritual in China, not so much because of a lack of sources, but because they have not yet been studied. The ritual mentality of the Ming literati is not well known, yet it was, as we know, the principal vector for the expression of their values. There appears to be a specific Confucian approach to ritual whose complex nature Westerners find difficult to grasp. It would seem that the “propriety” aspect of *li* has been understood, but not the higher levels of religious thought related to *qi* (sacrifice).

We know from the histories that sacrificial code (*sifan*) was continuously in the process of being discussed and reformed, so as to ensure its harmony with the changes of time. Politics played an important role, but the finality was not just politics. As Catherine Bell aptly remarks: “Based on the testimony of historical records, there are probably few peoples more overt and self-conscious than the Chinese in their manipulation of ritual for political ends; at the same time there is no culture where it would be less appropriate to regard ritual as a mere artifice to mask the origins and exercise of power”.¹³

¹³ Bell, p. 194.

The Great Ritual Controversy of the Jiajing period (*Jiajing dali yi*), which divided the literati of the times and exacerbated the quarrels of academies and parties during the early years of the reign of Shizong (1522-1566), can be a useful point of departure for the study of Ming rituality. Although the worst fights took place in the years 1522 to 1630, the controversy raged on during the entire reign period and left a lasting impact.

The beginning of the Controversy is well known. When Wuzong (the Zhengde emperor) died in the spring of 1521 without a direct heir to the throne, the Great Secretary Yang Tinghe (1459-1529) arranged for the enthronement of Wuzong's cousin, Zhu Houcong. The latter accepted, but refused to recognise his cousin Wuzong posthumously as his adoptive father, as would have been the traditional procedure. He demanded instead that he himself be considered not as heir-apparent, but as "new emperor". In consequence, his parents were to receive imperial rank, his deceased father being recognised as imperial ancestor, his still living mother as empress. This request created great difficulties, because it entailed a breach in the line of succession of the Ming, bringing a new and junior branch to the throne. The controversy raged. Shizong first lost out to the solidary caucus of court officials under the sway of powerful Yang Tinghe, and accepted not Wuzong but Xiaozong (the Hongzhi emperor) as his adoptive father. Shizong was however not satisfied and the battle continued, until the entire arrangement of the Ancestral Hall was revised, making Xiaozong an "uncle" and leaving poor Wuzong with no heir. Although there may have been other motives, the reason advanced by Shizong were purely Confucian: one must honour one's parents above all, in spite of accepted custom, tradition, political expediency and protests. The latter were unanimous and most vehement. In order to have his way, Shizong had to plead and threaten and finally imprison more than a hundred of the highest officials, and then have them beaten (seventeen died), demoted, exiled, etc. Even so, it took him more than four years to obtain imperial rank for his deceased father, and the opposition never died out until the end of his reign.

There have been several excellent studies on the Controversy, the most complete being that of Thomas Carney

Fisher.¹⁴ None of the authors seem however to have taken into account what, in my view, is possibly the most important aspect of the matter. In making his own father his imperial “kao”, he made the latter equal to the highest god, or “Heaven”, that is: *Haotian shangdi* according to the early Ming nomenclature. Indeed, on the altar of heaven at the suburban sacrifice, these two, Heaven and the emperor’s father, were associated and seen as the dual manifestation of a single godhead.¹⁵

In other words, Confucian ritualism considered that “Heaven” changed with each dynasty and that, therefore, the throne of the supreme deity became identical with that of the genitor of the “Son of Heaven”. By sacrificing to the Supreme Heaven, in the line of Dong Zhongshu, the emperor sacrificed to “his father”, and thus the two were merged. A change in the dynastic succession was therefore the occasion of an entirely new “fengshen”, an investiture of the gods.

The reason for the opposition of the officials was more than political or moral, i.e., their pious obligations to Shizong’s predecessors. It was religious. In matters of worldly administration, the emperor ruled supreme, with discretionary powers over the life of his subjects. In transcendental matters concerning the great ritual, however, he had to listen to his teachers, the Confucian literati. The correctness of the ritual canon was their domain, they were the keepers and transmitters of the orthodox tradition. The young emperor’s reforms made a mockery of their position.

In the autumn of 1522, each of the thirteen leading agencies of the government sent in a dissenting memorial, which bore the seals of two hundred and fifty court officials. This means that the entire officialdom was against the reform. As no reply came forth from the palace, a procession of more than two hundred high officials proceeded to one of the inner palace gates, where they kneeled and cried, wailing and shouting the names of Taizu and Xianzong as the founding fathers of the Mandate of Heaven, calling on them to prevent

¹⁴ T. C. Fisher, *The Great Rites Controversy*, Dissertation of the University of Michigan, 1977; R. Herzer, “Der Streit über das ‘Grosze Ritual’, eine Hofkontroverse der frühen Chia-ching zeit (1522-1566)”, *Oriens Extremus* XIX (1972).

¹⁵ See the excellent study by Yun-yi Ho, *The Ministry of Rites and Suburban Sacrifices in Early Ming*, Taipei, 1980.

the dire damage that was being done to their divine position. The crying and wailing continued throughout the day, their shouts resonating throughout the palace. At that time, Shizong had already entered into a purifying retreat in order to prepare himself for the sacrifices that would install his father as "kao". Furious, he ordered the crowd to be arrested. One hundred and thirty-four were flogged and many died of injuries.

The violent protests recommenced in 1530, this time over the reforms of the suburban sacrifice. In keeping with the logic of a new "fengshen", Shizong had ordered that the title of the supreme deity be changed from *Haotian shangdi* to *Huangtian shangdi*. This spurred widespread discussions on the name of "Heaven". The term "Huang" related to "Tian" has Taoist overtones. This time, three hundred high officials joined the protest, including a few who, in the deification of Shizong's father, had been neutral or on the young emperor's side.

Among the other issues at stake was, of course, the interpretation of the Confucian classics and the place of tradition. Shizong was not alone in voicing his opinion that only the word of the scriptures should be followed and not the ritual tradition. All through the later Ming period we encounter a fundamentalist return to the primitive Confucianism, which left its marks also in literature. We may think of Feng Menglong who strongly advocated the use of *baihua* and the collection of folk songs as representing the true tradition of the teaching of Confucius.

At the same time, Shizong's reforms kicked the bottom out of the scholastic Confucian tradition, opening the way, not only for popular literature, but for popular religion as well. The Jiajing era witnessed the renewed official sponsoring of popular cults and the emancipation of Taoist ritual. Many court ceremonies, such as the emperor's birthday, were now conducted according the Taoist liturgy, of which Shizong said, not without reason, that they were more classical than the Confucian rites. As Liu Ts'un-yan has shown, the interpenetration of Taoism and Confucianism increased notably during the Jiajing period.¹⁶

¹⁶ Liu Ts'un-yan, "The Penetration of Taoism in the Ming Neo-Confucianist Elite", *T'oung Pao* 57 (1971), pp. 31-102.

Taoist ritual had always been very present at court rituals, as we see from the fact that the rites of the suburban sacrifice had been controlled by Taoists musicians, dancers and acolytes since the very founding of the dynasty. Ricci met them on his visit to the Nanking Dasi dian shrine in 1599.¹⁷ This latter fact shows again how little we understand of the ritual culture of the Ming (not to speak of earlier dynasties). According to the official histories, the state religion included the cults of the sacred mountains, especially the Taishan, and the city gods (*chenghuang*). The temples for the Taishan (*Dongyue miao*) and for the city god (*Chenghuang miao*) thus fell inside the area of the official sacrifices, as Ricci tells us repeatedly. The institution of building *Dongyue miao*, however, dated from the times of Song Zhenzong and at those times, these official temples were manned with Taoists. Taoist continued afterwards to officiate on a regular, and often hereditary, basis in all the *Dongyue miao* until modern times (in Taiwan until the present day). The *Chenghuang miao* being subsidiary to the *Dongyue miao*, we find there the same situation. Under Shenzong (the Wanli emperor), the *Daozang* was reprinted and a sizeable Supplement added.

The history of popular Confucianism in Ming times has benefited from a number of important studies on *baojuan* drama and *baihua* literature, but again no attention has yet been paid to the question of ritual. It seems that Chinese literati of the Ming tended to take an increasingly symbolic view of rituality.

It is of course impossible to say to what extent Ricci's view of Chinese religion was influenced by all this. Yet the questions on the name of the highest deity and the meaning of the sacrifices were in the very centre of the discussions of the time. The ritual reforms and the popularisation of the ritual canon had created a distance with respect to classical tradition which had to be bridged by discussion and counter-reform. The search for primitive Confucianism seems to have become generalised, and the return to the original meaning of the Confucian

¹⁷ D'Elia ed., pp. 70-71. See also Ho, pp. 72, 176.

scriptures as well, hence the *kaozheng* movement. This, as well as the battle cry of *sola scriptura* and the move towards the vernacular as the authentic medium are all in all very comparable to the Protestant ideas that had developed in Europe a century earlier! The opening up of the narrow Confucian tradition may also have liberated the literati's view on other religions. All this may explain why, as Gernet remarks, the Jesuits originally encountered a rather favourable climate, something which, however, cannot be solely explained, as Gernet does, by anti-Buddhist feelings.

It was far more a meeting of the mind on some essential points, which may well have been what Rule has stressed, a common aversion of the Neo-Confucianists in support of a return to the sources.¹⁸ In this context, "Ricci placed himself and Christianity firmly on the side of those urging a return to the purity of primitive Confucianism".¹⁹

Ricci wanted to understand the true nature of Confucianism, and also the historical development of the cult of the Master. I imagine - without any proof - that Leo Li (Zhizao) wrote his *Pangong liyue shu* in relation to this query (the book was published after Ricci's death, around 1615). Li retraces the entire history of the worship, explains all the rules, the instruments, the offerings. Then he comes to music and dance:

Why is it that the Kings of Old all taught us the importance of dancing? Because when humans come of age, their vital energies start being full and strong, and [therefore the youngsters] burst out in joyous laughing and play, hopping and jumping on hands and feet, dancing in imitation of bears and cranes, dancing lions and climbing monkeys. As these things were lacking in decorum... the Sage came to guide them and said to them: 'Come! I'll teach you dancing!' [...]

From this, the knowledge of body and mind, nature and destiny came forth, but the original way (*dao*) has been

¹⁸ Rule, p. 32.

¹⁹ Rule, p. 29

interrupted at least for a thousand years now. Who now, I ask you, understands dancing as the ancients did? Youth should learn it to regulate the body, to serve others, to achieve their personality. Then there will be again servants who dance for their lords...and lords who dance for their servants; [...] elder and younger brothers who dance together, ... hosts and guests who dance together.²⁰

Indeed, Confucian rituality of the late Ming deserves to be studied. Such a study would certainly be of interest for our understanding of the history of the relations between Europe and China, as well as for the understanding of ritual in general.

²⁰ *Pangong liyue shu*, juan 8, ff. 2b-3b.

A DIALOGUE ON ASTRONOMICAL PHENOMENA AND
NATURAL THEOLOGY
IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHINA

John W. Witek, S.J.

The signers of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 scarcely could have foreseen its impact on the globe in which we live. The idea of the law of nations had been discussed by others even earlier, but its implementation was difficult then and remains so even today. Stemming from that concept is the ongoing discussion about human rights in the international order. At the meeting of the United Nations Committee on Human Rights, held in Vienna in May 1993, representatives from the People's Republic of China strenuously objected to the views on human rights that they contended the West was imposing on China.¹ Along with several other countries, China argued that to raise the issue of human rights was to interfere in the internal affairs of a nation. Such views met strong opposition from those who contended that human rights supersede national boundaries, since they are universal and common to all persons.

This recent dispute can act as an overture for this symposium as it assesses western humanistic culture presented by Jesuit missionaries to the Chinese during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As witnesses to the Gospel with its universal message for every person on earth, the Jesuits were sent to convert the Chinese to Christianity. The innumerable problems, such as learning the Chinese language, understanding the customs of the literati, making friends with the Chinese of all walks of life, and so forth that Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and his companions faced are too well known for repetition here. Equally familiar are the use that the Jesuits made of geography to teach the Chinese their relationship to

¹ *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), May 31, 1993, p. 1.

other countries in the world and of astronomy to correct the calendar that was vital for imperial rule.

As a missionary Ricci was well aware that even when his Chinese essays on Christianity were completed, not all readers would readily embrace such views. He and certainly all Jesuits who followed him on the mission knew that no adult Chinese could be expected to recite the Nicene Creed with its opening words "I believe in God, the Father Almighty ..." unless the missionary had discussed with that prospective convert some of the basic philosophical concepts underlying that statement. Such concepts were an integral part of the philosophical and theological training of the Jesuits of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries who served on the China mission. Realising that faith was a gift from God, they recognised that philosophical discussion with the Chinese was a vital means to lead them towards serious consideration of the message of Christ.

The opening section of this essay centres on the kind of philosophical and theological inquiry that the Jesuits learned in Europe and brought to China. This is followed by an assessment of the expression of some of these views in the principal book about Christianity that Ricci wrote and in the opinions of Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). These considerations form the background for examining a dialogue written in Chinese by Jean-François Foucquet (1665-1741) as he discussed astronomical phenomena to help his Chinese interlocutor come to an understanding of God and His providence in this world.

Theological Inquiry in Sixteenth-Century Europe

The rather uneven educational preparation for the priesthood that the clergy received in many areas of early sixteenth-century Europe is fairly well known. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) addressed this issue by prescribing several years of philosophical and theological training for all future priests. This had an impact on all diocesan seminaries and religious orders, including the Society of Jesus that had received papal approval in 1540.

As Europeans explored new routes around Africa and came into contact with peoples in Asia and also within several decades extended contacts with peoples in the Americas, the

question of faith and man's ability to come to a knowledge of God by natural reason no longer was a theological debate for academic halls of seminaries, but a real issue in trying to present Catholicism to millions of people outside of Europe. It is in this context that the term *natural theology* arose as an expression of knowing about God through human reason.

Natural theology is distinguished from supernatural theology by the principles on which each is based. Natural theology may be defined as "the knowledge that man can have of the existence and the nature of God by means of reason," whereas supernatural theology is founded on Revelation. The principal object of natural theology is divided into three groups of questions: 1) the existence of God, 2) the nature of God and knowledge of His attributes, and 3) divine providence and the solution of the problem of evil.² These three are not to be compartmentalised, since they are closely interrelated. The term *natural theology* can be traced back to the first century A. D. and the question of man's ability to know God or at least the First Principle of all things was discussed over many centuries.

To appreciate the point of departure of the Jesuits in their philosophical discourse in the sixteenth century one must recall the medieval adage, "Grace does not destroy nature, but perfects it." This was a common denominator for those espousing the view of St. Thomas Aquinas who taught that, although philosophy is distinct from theology, human reason has its own value and consistency apart from grace. This is why Christian humanism is "ultimately theocentric."³ Aquinas had discussed whether the human intellect, without grace, could know God.⁴ The issue was further examined in the sixteenth

² For a detailed discussion of this definition, see C. Fabro, "Teologia Naturale," *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 11, pp. 1970-1976. Karl Rahner and Herbert Vorgrimler define natural theology quite tersely as follows: "A term applied to metaphysical ontology insofar as the general doctrine of being necessarily includes some statement about the absolute being of God." See their *Dictionary of Theology*, 2nd ed., New York, 1985, p. 332.

³ D. J. Forbes, "Humanism, Christian," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, p. 224.

⁴ S. Thomas de Aquino, *Summa Theologiae*, Ottawa, 1941, "Utrum Deum esse sit demonstrabile", vol. 1, pp. 12b-13a.

and seventeenth century commentaries on his works. Such writers did not necessarily agree on every aspect of this topic, but their commentaries were a basis for probing the question. Since the leaders of the Reformation were convinced that the existence of God could be so readily and clearly understood, Heinrich Petri has recently argued that the question of atheism seldom arose.⁵

Among the leading late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century commentators on the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas were two Jesuits, Saint Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) and Francisco Suarez (1548-1619).⁶ By quoting the Church Fathers, Bellarmine showed their unanimity in stating that man with the help of his natural powers and in light of his natural reason could come to know not only God, but His unity and His uniqueness. This approach is perhaps best outlined in his *De ascensione mentis in Deum per scalas rerum creatarum* (On the ascent of the mind to God through the ladder of created things) as he explained how through created things man can perceive the power, beauty and goodness of God. Suarez, on the other hand, considered the topic of man's coming to know God as a metaphysical issue, that is, in the context of the question of being. He began by an attempt to classify or distinguish various types of being with its connection to the concepts of created and uncreated, contingent or necessary beings. His expression "Omne quod fit, ab alio fit," (Everything which comes into being, does so from another) was his point of departure, since before something comes into being, it does not yet exist and so cannot have an effect. From contingent beings man can argue to a non-contingent being on which the former depend. For Suarez God is the "nobillissimum ens," (the most noble being) and hence the source of all being.

The essential principles of the evolution of Catholic theology in the modern era were established in Spain

⁵ "Man war allgemein so sehr davon überzeugt, dass die Existenz Gottes so leicht und so deutlich erkannt werden kann, dass man im Atheismus selber kaum eine ernste Anfrage sah, die gründlicher Untersuchung und Auseinandersetzung wert schien." H. Petri, *Glaube und Gotteserkenntnis von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart*, Freiburg, 1985, p. 68.

⁶ Other leading commentators of that period were Thomas de Vio Cajetan (1469-1534), Dominic Banez (1528-1604) and Gabriel Vazquez (1549-1604).

independently of the Reformation. The collapse of the Golden Age made possible by the colonial expansion to the Americas and by the defeat of the Armada in 1588 led the Spanish faithful to seek security that would guarantee them "an intimate certitude of salvation," as a recent study has shown. Spanish mysticism and the Society of Jesus also assisted in changing the theology of Aquinas from a grand movement encompassing creation and redemption to a doctrine of faith centered on the individual.⁷ By its natural theology Late Scholasticism in Spain set the foundations of modern international law and by its extremely refined linguistic theology, that is the analysis of the faith, it constituted the transition towards the modern psychology of the faith. When Francisco de Vitoria (1483/93-1546) taught at the University of Salamanca he replaced the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard with the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas. Moreover, de Vitoria extended the view of natural theology about creation according to Aquinas to a doctrine on nature, which for the colonial powers of that day, created the basis of their contractual law and of the royal patronage (*patronato real*).

This brief synopsis offers only a glimpse into the type of philosophy and theology that was commonly known among the Jesuits in Spain and also in Rome. Moreover, the issue of man's free will in his salvation the Jesuit theologian, Luis de Molina (1535-1600), emphasised for the first time as an integral sphere of theological inquiry. This point Bellarmine and Suarez extended further so that another Jesuit theologian, Leonard Lessius (1554-1623), examined how grace, given by God, affected man's free will. The ethical, social and political implications of the theological dispute about grace and freedom lasted through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in France. The Jesuit missionaries who went to China received their theological training from professors involved in such discussions.

⁷ The preceding lines draw from the research of Peter Eicher, "Théologies Modernes" in his *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, Paris, 1988, p. 761.

Natural Theology and Ricci

To those acquainted with the opening phase of the Jesuit mission in China the significance of the *Tianzhu shiyi* (True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven) by Matteo Ricci needs no explanation. During my first reading of the original Chinese text twenty years ago I was struck by Ricci's use of natural theology as an approach to the Chinese literati. In the third paragraph of the Introduction he states:

Every state or country has [its own] lord; is it possible that only the universe does not have a lord? A country must be united under only one [lord]; is it possible that the universe has two lords? Therefore, a superior man cannot but know the source of the universe and the creator of all creatures, and then raise his mind [to Him].⁸

The *superior man* (*junzi*) who read this for the first time, however, most likely was puzzled by this type of argumentation. For even if he agreed that the universe had but one lord, he may not have immediately realised that such an acknowledgment would lead him to understand the source of the universe nor above all, the creator of all things.

To carry his argument further Ricci pointed out in the first chapter that he would "explain the universal teaching of the Lord of Heaven in order to prove that it is the true teaching." ⁹ Translating the term *gong jiao* as "universal teaching" is quite appropriate for it connotes Ricci's view that the message of Christianity was not meant just for the Chinese literati, but for all Chinese. By accepting that message the Chinese would become united with other Christians throughout the world.

From a somewhat different perspective Ricci indicated, through the words of the western scholar, how man could view the heavens and come to a knowledge of God.

You, Sir, wish first to inquire about the One who is said to have created heaven, earth, and all things and to exercise constant authority over them. I assert, then, that there is

⁸ For the recent standard English translation, see M. Ricci, S.J., *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*T'ien-chu shih-i*). Translated with Introduction and Notes by D. Lancashire and P. Hu Kuo-chen, S.J., Taipei, Paris & Hong Kong, 1985, p. 57.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

nothing under heaven which is more evident than the truth of His existence. Is there anyone who has not raised his eyes and gazed at the sky and who has not silently sighed to himself, while gazing at the sky, and said, 'There must surely be Someone in the midst of it who exercises control over it.' Now this Someone is none other than the Lord of Heaven whom our Western nations term *Deus*.¹⁰

This quotation is a principal section of Ricci's book. Noteworthy is his claim that there is "someone", not "something," that is responsible for guiding and controlling the heavens. Yet it is by the act of gazing at the heavens that man can come to consider that there may be a person who controls the heavenly bodies.

There is no doubt, nonetheless, that Ricci studied Neo-Confucian terminology and that he understood that the Chinese had a conception of one principle as the source of all things. In a later section of his work he stated:

The theory, from what I have seen of the diagram illustrating the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate, is based on symbols representing *yang* and *yin*; and what is [the reality of which] these symbols [are an expression]? It is obvious, then, that the Supreme Ultimate cannot be the reality which produced heaven and earth.¹¹

In the footnote to this statement, the translators, Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, indicate that some contemporary Christian and non-Christian scholars consider the Supreme Ultimate, "when recognized as personal, could be a correct representation of God." They add that "Ricci did not see this."¹² However, their assertion about Ricci shows that they did not consult his Latin summary of the *Tianzhu shiyi*. This summary preceded the Chinese original of the first 1603 Peking edition that he sent to Father General in Rome and indeed most of its Latin text Lancashire and Hu included in their publication.¹³

In reference to the doctrine about the Supreme Ultimate (in Latin, *Taikie*) Ricci pointed out in the summary that the idea

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 107.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 106, n. 15.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 460-472.

was new and had arisen about five hundred years earlier. He argued that if it was attentively considered, it opposed the views of the ancient wise men of China. What was said about the Supreme Ultimate was nothing else than what western philosophers called prime matter. He further described the various views about it that Chinese scholars had propounded. Nevertheless, he concluded by observing:

Et in fine si Taikieum intelligerent esse primum principium substantiale, intelligens, et infinitum: illud asserimus quidem esse Deum et nihil aliud.¹⁴

This section reveals how Ricci carefully examined one of the principal elements of Neo-Confucian thought, that is, the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji*). At first glance it seems that he categorically dismissed the concept as nothing else but prime matter. Yet in the end he conceded that if the Chinese understood the Supreme Ultimate to be “substantial, intelligent and infinite, then we claim that this is God and nothing else.”

To the reader in our day who might scarcely know Latin the above passage may appear to be nothing else than a statement from a sixteenth-century learned Italian living in China. Indeed, it is that but much more. To the scholar familiar with medieval philosophy, especially that of St. Thomas Aquinas, Ricci's argument has the overtone of the style and method of the Angelic Doctor in his *Summa Theologiae*. In the third article Aquinas asked, “Does God exist” (*Utrum Deus sit*) and in his response he outlined the well-known five ways by which man can prove the existence of God.¹⁵ At this point there is no intention to focus on the five ways themselves nor on their validity but rather on the phraseology Aquinas used to end his arguments. For example, about the first way Aquinas indicated that one must conclude that there is a prime mover which is moved by nothing else “and this all understand as God” (*Ergo necesse est devenire ad aliquod primum movens, quod a nullo movetur, et hoc omnes intelligunt Deum.*) In dealing with the

¹⁴ “And in the end if they understand the first principle to be substantial, intelligent, and infinite, then indeed we claim that this is God and nothing else.” *Ibidem*, p. 463. The translators do not indicate why the complete text of this summary was not included in their edition.

¹⁵ *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 1, pp. 13b-15a.

efficient cause, he stated that there is a first efficient cause which all call God (...causam efficientem primam quam omnes Deum nominant). Similarly concerning the fifth way Aquinas noted, "Therefore there is something intelligent, from which all natural things are ordered towards an end and this we call God." (Ergo est aliquid intelligens, a quo omnes res naturales ordinantur ad finem, et hoc dicimus Deum).¹⁶ It is especially in this last ending by Aquinas that an analogy with Ricci's method can be drawn. Aquinas referred to "aliquid intelligens" not to "aliquis intelligens" but from which all things in nature are ordered towards their goal. As "something" (aliquid) this would have for Ricci overtones of the Supreme Ultimate, for he had indicated that if the Chinese understood the Supreme Ultimate as "substantial, intelligent and infinite then we claim that this is God and nothing else."¹⁷ Although there is apparently no evidence to prove that Ricci had this specific passage of Aquinas in mind when he wrote this summary for Father General, the resemblance of the mentality and the method is striking and should not be overlooked.

¹⁶ For Aquinas's similar method of argumentation that ends with understanding God in a new dimension, see his *Summa Contra Gentiles*, Rome, 1934, pp. 10-11.

¹⁷ It is instructive to note the late seventeenth-century analogous viewpoint about the Supreme Ultimate by the Chinese Jesuit, Wu Li (Wu Yushan, 1632-1718). One of the leading painters and poets of the Qing dynasty, Wu was well grounded in Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism, but decided to become a convert and then a Jesuit. In his poem "Singing of the Source and Course of Holy Church," he wrote:

"The Supreme Ultimate contains three"—
muddled words indeed!

In fact, they start with primal energy
to speak of original chaos.

From books of the past, we learned of old
of sincerity, wisdom, and goodness;
the mysterious meaning now we understand
of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

See Jonathan Chaves, *Singing of the Source. Nature and God in the Poetry of the Chinese Painter Wu Li*, Honolulu, 1993, p. 43. Chaves indicates that Wu Li was here distinguishing the Christian doctrine of the Trinity from confusion with an apparently similar Confucian viewpoint.

Verbiest's Views of Natural Theology

Recent research about Ferdinand Verbiest by more than two dozen scholars has highlighted his contributions to early Qing China as a scientist, engineer, mapmaker, and diplomat.¹⁸ But as vice-provincial of the mission he never lost sight of the goal that the Society of Jesus had in China and the means it should take to achieve it. On August 15th 1678 he wrote to the Visitor of the Vice-Province of China and the Province of Japan, Sebastião d'Almeida (1622-1682), about the possibility of admitting Chinese into the Jesuit Order. He strongly favoured such measures and added his observations about the status of the mission until then. He indicated that there was no stable basis for the propagation of Christianity in China and added that at that point in the history of the mission the promulgation of Christianity was prohibited. In fact, he noted, the whole Jesuit mission rested on European astronomy which in turn depended on the will of the emperor. Verbiest claimed that this root was exceedingly uncertain.¹⁹ There were Chinese who were trained in western astronomical methods for many years and who on their own could compile calendars according to western methods. Verbiest added that there was no certainty that his successor in the tribunal would be a European. Nonetheless, the best hope for the future would be to have two or three Europeans at the Qing court so that others could work and live in the provinces.

On that same day (August 15th 1678), Verbiest composed a letter addressed to all Jesuits in Europe so that some of them might consider volunteering for service on the China mission. He stated that among all the missions, whether in the East or West Indies, there was none that seemed more appropriate to the Jesuit Order and more congruent with the Jesuit Institute than that of the China mission. He explained that the Society of Jesus claimed that the arts and sciences of all kinds were the

¹⁸ See J. W. Witek, S.J., ed., *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXX, Nettel, 1994.

¹⁹ "Haec radix est valde incerta." H. Jossen and L. Willaert, eds., *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, Brussels, 1938, pp. 210-211.

most apt medium by which men, endowed with reason and from their own nature, more readily were induced to the truth and to virtue. In his view there was no other nation among the Eastern or Western Indies that could be compared to the Chinese in their cultivation of the arts and sciences. After indicating the role of learning in the Chinese examination system, Verbiest added that the Chinese classical works and their interpreters were filled with moral documents and that these works contained nothing contrary to the faith and good morals.²⁰ Any Jesuit, indeed anyone, reading this last point from Verbiest would be intrigued about his sweeping endorsement of Chinese classical literature. By this statement he further promoted his past confreres' view of accepting such literature as a means of assisting in spreading Christianity among the Chinese people.

Sino-Western Dialogue on Astronomy

A few decades after Verbiest's death in 1688, Foucquet composed in Chinese a dialogue between a Chinese scholar and a western missionary. Some comments about the author and the background of the essay are needed before an examination of its contents can be pursued.

After the first group of French Jesuits arrived in Peking in 1688, efforts to bring additional personnel were successful when Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) returned to Paris and brought a contingent of Jesuit confrères to Guangzhou (Canton). Foucquet was part of the second group who arrived in 1699 in Xiamen (Amoy). The problems he faced on the mission have been depicted elsewhere.²¹ After working as a missionary in Jiangxi for several years, he was called to Beijing in 1711 to assist Bouvet in his work on the *Yijing* (Classic of Changes). But besides that, he was asked to write Chinese essays about western astronomy for presentation to the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722). During his stay in the capital until 1720, Foucquet wrote a dialogue between a Chinese and a

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 245-246.

²¹ See J. W. Witek, *Controversial Ideas in China and in Europe. A Biography of Jean-François Foucquet, 1665-1741*, Rome, 1982, especially pp. 73-252.

European on the irregularity of heavenly phenomena. Whether this essay was to be presented to the emperor is not clear, since Foucquet does not mention this autograph manuscript in his correspondence.

Entitled *Ju gujing zhuan kao tianxiang bu junqi* (Research into tradition and the irregularity of heavenly phenomena), this essay has a longer Latin title.²² An English translation is "Dialogue between a Chinese and a European. On the occasion of the movements which five wandering stars indicated as extremely inordinate, the question is raised and more distinctly explained from the old canonical books and the ancient traditions why an unequal variety appears in the other images of the heavenly machine and thus in the whole world." Written in Chinese ink and on Chinese paper, this essay Foucquet read again upon his return to Europe, since he inserted the words "Dialogue between a Chinese and a European" in European ink that, due to its acidic qualities, now appears brown in the manuscript.

There is no formal preface or introduction to this dialogue. A clue is offered, however, in the Latin note (not duplicated in the Chinese text) in that the Chinese was inspecting the figures of movements which Cassini attributed to five planets as stated in his publications. Foucquet's otherwise enigmatic marginal note indicates that possibly one or more Chinese who worked with him at the imperial court had seen the writings of Cassini. The latter, of course, was, the well-known astronomer Jean-Dominique Cassini (1625-1712) whose works the French Jesuits used in Peking.²³

The Chinese started the dialogue by stating that he saw all the figures of the five wandering planets and the lines of

²² "Dialogus Sinam inter et Europaeum. Occasione motuum quos errantes quinque stellae valde inordinatos habent ex veteribus libris canonicis et antiquis traditionibus inquiritur ac distinctius exponitur cur in caeteris machinae caelestis imaginibus atque adeo in toto mundo inaequabilis varietas appareat." The full text in Chinese with the Latin translation is in *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (henceforth: BAV), Borg. Cin. 380 (6). Only the Latin text is in Foucquet's hand. For an additional copy of the Chinese text, see BAV, Borg. Cin. 380 (7), and of the Latin text alone, (but not in Foucquet's hand), *ibidem*, Borg. Cin. 469, ff. 1-60.

²³ For a short sketch about Cassini, see René Taton, "Cassini, Gian Domenico (Jean-Dominique)," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 3, pp. 100-104.

motion by which each of them is moved, but this was extremely confusing and the lines were unequal to one another. Despite his efforts to try to research this, he was unable to reach any conclusion, so that his doubt still persisted. He added that if one viewed the entire machine of the world, whether those things above or below, he acknowledged an author of all of them, who was supremely intelligent and who by his power and marvelous wisdom perfected them. But from this it should follow, he argued, that all things should be the best and most beautiful. Although the motions of the five planets (*wu wei*) followed a certain definite rule that could be calculated, yet in their speed and slowness they were dissimilar and a great disturbance was detected, as if they no longer retained their original perfection. The Chinese thus asked whether this changeable variety came from the beginning so that it must be attributed to their maker or arose from some other principle.²⁴

In his reply the European praised the question as being profound not only for the field of astronomy, but also for its quest for the hidden meaning of the ancient annals and the canonical books. He added that the theory of the fixed stars was known and was the opposite to the changing disturbance of heavenly images. But he reminded the Chinese that not all motions in the moon could be calculated, and that there was inequality even in the sun, which was considered the chief of all stars. Agreeing that there was a certain hidden change in the movements of the heavens and the orbits of the stars, the European pointed out that the disturbance did not come from the original constitution of the world. Instead, it was to be attributed to the intense confusion of the world.²⁵

The Chinese, on the other hand, stated that once this great change of the heavenly motions was admitted, then what followed led to the most serious consequence. If an astronomer observed that some inequality appeared in the motions of the planets, he might immediately proceed to argue that a great change had occurred in the world. But the Chinese added that he wanted to know whether there were firm and sure

²⁴ BAV, Borg. Cin. 380 (6), (Chinese) p. 1.

²⁵ "Tianxiang zhi cuoza" *ibidem*, pp. 2a-b.

arguments on which to base such an observation. The European replied that if he were to rely on western records to answer the question, he would create a situation of less credibility for the Chinese. However, since he was in China and among the Chinese, he wanted to base his arguments on their ancient annals.

To carry out this goal, the European called attention to the distinction of the prior heaven (*xian tian*) and posterior heaven (*hou tian*) that these annals contained.²⁶ The Chinese was still puzzled by such a reference, which he noted was found not only in the old canonical books but in the writings of philosophers and other writers. These references all agreed, however, that the one heaven should not be confused with the other nor could these two heavens ever be joined into one. He still wanted to know from the European if there were any explanations about this topic in some vestiges of the ancient wisdom. The European replied that such documents did exist in the ancient annals, even though there were some persons who did not investigate these books thoroughly and claimed that there were absurd errors in such literature. What needed to be done, the European added, was to focus on the state of the prior and the posterior heaven which was overlooked by such writers.

In explaining the distinction of the prior heaven from the posterior heaven, the European pointed out that the prior heaven was a pure place at perpetual peace, where no labour was necessary and where there were no struggles nor resistance of man against man. But in the posterior heaven man's nature suffered damage so that evils of various kinds arose. To explain this further, the European relied on the *Yijing* with its principles of *qian* (heaven) and *kun* (earth). These constituted a double power but they were in harmony with each other and operated in nature spontaneously as a principle of things. However, in the posterior heaven the opposite was the case since matter was known in the example of water and fire. In nature there was nothing more contrastive than these two, for one destroyed the

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 9. For short descriptions of these terms, see *Kangxi zidian* (Kangxi dictionary), repr. Beijing, 1984, p. 124 and Morohashi Tetsuji, ed. *Shin kanwa jiten* (New Chinese-Japanese Dictionary), 3rd ed., Tokyo, 1969, p. 306.

other. In fact, in the prior heaven water and fire did not act this way.²⁷

After several pages of description by the European of the prior heaven, including quotations from *Zhuangzi*, among others, the Chinese was still puzzled about the fall of man. If man was at first happy and then fell into the greatest misery, he wanted to know what caused such a change. The European answered that the lowest persons had contempt for the greatest kingdom so that contentions arose, while lying; cheating, and deceit became common. This was in stark contrast to man who was able to live in the prior heaven together with beasts in the same locale.²⁸

To this inquiry the European replied that Yan Junping had deplored the fall of the world and of the human soul and thus wrote about the cause. Since Foucquet relied quite heavily on Yan's arguments in this dialogue, a few comments about Yan are necessary. Yan, also called Yan Zun, was a native of Sichuan who lived in the Former Han period. He was a student of Yang Xiong (53 B. C.- 18 A. D.), one of the more illustrious philosophers of that era. Yan was the author of the *Laozi zhigui* (Reflections on the *Laozi*) which is also called the *Daode zhigui lun*. The dates of its compilation are not known. Foucquet had taken extracts from this work as is seen in one of his notebooks in the Vatican Library.²⁹

According to the European, Yan transmitted four principles which especially lent themselves to avoid errors about this issue. The first was his usage of the term *xianzu* which signified the prior ancestors or parents. The reader of Yan's work would recognize that he was not referring to his own parents nor even to those of the emperor of the Han dynasty. It was thus evident

²⁷ BAV, Borg. Cin. 380 (6), pp. 10-11.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 14-16.

²⁹ A short biographical sketch of Yan is in *Zhongguo renming da cidian*, Taipei, 1972, p. 1766. For additional data, see *Hanshu* in *Ershi wushi* (Twenty-five dynastic histories), Shanghai, 1935, vol. I, p. 538 and *Daozang zimu yinde* (Combined indices to the authors and titles of books in two collections of Taoist literature), *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*, no. 25, Taipei, 1966, p. 72. Excerpts from Yan's work are in BAV, Borg. Cin. 374 (one of several unpaginated fascicles in this codex). On Yang Xiong, see D. R. Knechtges, ed. *The Han Shu Biography of Yang Xiong (53 B. C.-A. D. 18)*, Tempe, 1982.

that he was referring to the first men of all ages and of the entire human race after heaven and earth had been made. To carry this even further, he noted the adage in Scholastic philosophy that "People together with me came from the same uterus." (In Chinese, *min wu tong bao* and in Latin, "Plebs ab eodem mecum utero prodiit"). So that his Chinese interlocutor would not misunderstand, the European continued "*sihai zhi nei jie xiongdi*". In Latin the text reads with some embellishment as follows: "In quatuor marium ambitu quicumque spiritum ducunt hominis sunt ejusdem familiae fratres germani." (Within the extent of the four seas whoever leads the spirit of man are real brothers of the same family). That all those within the four seas are brothers is a very familiar theme in traditional Chinese history. But Yan had added that though the first parents were endowed with virtues, they violated the heavenly law and later moved towards evil. One person was guilty of such a fault and he adversely affected the whole world. For this reason the *Shijing* (Classic of Songs) indicated that the first parents were to be pitied for inflicting a wound on the human race.³⁰ From this Foucquet argued that this type of data from Chinese sources showed the kind of destruction that was the focus of the question the Chinese had originally raised.

Yan's second principle discussed the first men as being constituted kings and lords. At that point they were kings, but not in separate lands. In fact theirs was the universal kingdom so that whatever was covered by heaven and sustained by earth and whatever was illumined by the sun and moon, the first men were bound to respect and venerate. But now the universal world was divided into various kingdoms, a division that was far from the first will of their maker. The first men or prior ancestors were the father and mother of the future human race and thus all of their posterity were to compose one family, one kingdom, one monarchy, embracing all, with no exception.³¹ But the first parents rebelled against the supreme mandate so that falsehood, error, and lying prevailed thereafter with the

³⁰ BAV, Borg. Cin. 380 (6), p. 18. The exact reference in the *Shijing* was not cited.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

further result that the foundations of heaven and earth were changed. This meant that the five planets no longer held the course that had been established for them. The state of the world had been transformed and so too had the condition of nature. The first parents now were subject to pain and sorrow and even to death.

The third principle was Yan's statement, "Let them honour the great parent," which in turn raised the question about the identity of the great parent, that is, *guang xian zi kao zhe. Zu kao wei shui*. The European replied that Yan was referring to the creator God who was able to give life to all and for that reason was called the true ancestor and great parent. To support this further, he quoted from *Huainanzi* that he who is the expert of figure and of the body was the great parent of things and who disseminated no sound nor was able to be perceived by any sound is the great ancestor of the voice and of sounds. By these names the same is signified who also is called the great father and the great mother of nature.³²

In his fourth principle Yan referred to the temple of the great parent or ancestor that fell into ruin. This building, the European stated, could be compared to the basilica that had been set atop a mountain of paradise where sacrifices were to be offered. It was here that the first parents were to carry out the cult to the great parent. But a disturbance in the human race occurred and led to the fall and ruin of this august temple.³³ In a more expansive way the European added that God made heaven and earth, so that in them the divine spirits and great virtues would shine and in them as in a temple the human race would carry out its cult to the great parent. But the turmoil in heaven and earth led to the fall and ruination of the temple.³⁴

As the dialogue between the Chinese and the European continued, the Chinese eventually accepted the existence of a lord of nature with his power to create all things. But he still

³² The exact reference to the *Huainanzi* is not indicated, even in a note in the Latin text.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

wanted to know whether such a lord would not sustain an effort to renovate or reintegrate the world. The European answered that heaven is superior, earth is inferior, so that man, endowed with intelligence, should follow the heavenly mandate and then corporeal things and those endowed with reason would obey it. In this setting the active and passive forces of nature as a principle would work between themselves. This would restore a blessed age in which the greatest peace and most perfect concord of all things would be achieved. For the harmony of the prior heaven with its most fruitful and happy condition would again be witnessed in the world. In ending the dialogue, the European indicated to the Chinese that these few things about a profound doctrine were in the ancient annals. He expressed his hope that in another more subtle dialogue he would explain more distinctly that the holy one (*shengren*) would bring concord so that heaven and earth would be restored in their places.³⁵

It is quite possible that the connection between the fall of man from paradise (prior heaven) to the current world (posterior heaven) and its effect on the planets we may not endorse in our own day. But Foucquet's essay underlines a different approach towards natural theology than what is found in Ricci's book. Ricci indicated that by contemplating order in the universe, man could conclude that there was a first principle of order that Christians called God. However, Foucquet's dialogue reverses the point of departure. Foucquet points out that God exists, though he refers to God by the term *shen*, not by the usual term in Christian books of his day, *Tianzhu*. The Chinese scholar wanted to know how and why disorder arose after order had first existed and above all posited the question in terms of astronomy. In this way, natural theology was still being used since a concomitant element of natural theology was to inquire about divine providence and the solution of the problem of evil.³⁶ Foucquet widened the discussion by reflecting on astronomical phenomena. Although many Jesuits worked in the Bureau of Astronomy, as far as can

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

³⁶ See Fabro, "Teologia Naturale," *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 11, p. 1970.

be determined, there is no record that any of them wrote a dialogue in Chinese about astronomical observations as a means of raising questions of natural theology and thereby laying a basis for explaining some of the truths of Christianity.

Conclusion

A key component in the above discussion is the role of natural theology in the Jesuit mission in China during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. There is no doubt that this case study could be expanded beyond the few Jesuits mentioned herein. It is based on the premise that the method of thinking in terms of natural theology in that era was acceptable to the Westerner who wanted to use that approach in developing contacts with the Chinese who did not share the faith. By no means was the use of natural theology found in China alone, for missionaries in other areas of the world employed it. But because of the important corpus of Chinese literature antedating the coming of Christ with many commentaries over the centuries, the missionary in China needed to go beyond arguments from natural theology and to incorporate the teachings in that literature in discussions with the literati and with others. The missionary's message was that through human reason man could come to the knowledge of the First Principle of all things. This did not negate the need for revelation, since the missionary realised that by reason alone man could not argue towards the love that God showed to the human race in Christ His Son. Then too, he understood that conversion to the faith was ultimately a supernatural gift.

During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries the missionary in China had a formidable task to convert the Chinese whether the elite or the common people. He found that Chinese humanism with its ethical consciousness emphasised man as a social being and a spirit of harmonious living. He also came to understand how the Chinese stressed the importance of the written word, past and present. But without a complete translation of the Old and New Testament the missionary had no written texts to show the Chinese many key ingredients of the Christian tradition. To compensate for this drawback and above all to start a dialogue with the Chinese, the missionary first had to know the Chinese philosophical tradition, and then

to proceed to raise questions of natural theology that would extend beyond that tradition. This process of expanding the dialogue with the Chinese as depicted in the printed and manuscript writings of the Jesuits was a lasting contribution, equal to, perhaps even surpassing, their maps, clocks and astronomy tables in the development of intercultural relations between East and West in that era.

An opposing viewpoint J. S. Cummins presents in his recent publication about Domingo Navarrete:

East and West failed to meet because their respective world pictures differed fundamentally and there was too great a cosmological divide. The Chinese mind, rooted in concepts from the Sino-Tibetan family of languages, found many Christian ideas, evolved from the Graeco-Roman-Judaic-Scholastic mental world, to be inconceivable, and the Chinese literati, by and large untroubled by metaphysical anxieties, showed an interest in the Jesuits' Renaissance technology, but laid aside with contumely their religion and Tridentine 'Ptolemaic' theology.³⁷

Such a position, that has been stated by others before, fails to recognise how in imperial China ideas entering from the outside needed many centuries before becoming internalised in Chinese tradition. During the development of Buddhism in China, it is well known that the Chinese challenged the Buddhist monks from India about translations of terms and above all about their religious views, especially reincarnation and cosmology. It took Mahayana Buddhism, with its system of metaphysical inquiry, from the Tang dynasty (618-907) to the Ming period (1368-1644) to be accepted as one of the "Three Teachings" (*san jiao*) in China. Arthur F. Wright sagely observed that "periods of disintegration and the loss of holistic and related ideals are the only periods in which Chinese have shown any responsiveness to alien ideas." He added that "Buddhism could no more have established itself in the Empire of Han than Catholic Christianity could in the prosperous years of the Ch'ing dynasty".³⁸ Although there may be agreement that

³⁷ J. S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites. Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China*, Aldershot, 1993, p. 9.

³⁸ A. F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, Stanford, 1959, p. 124.

neither "established" themselves in those periods, some basic groundwork toward that end, nonetheless, had been completed.

The argument of Cummins that the Chinese could not understand Christianity because their language was a barrier leaves much to be desired.³⁹ What the missionaries, whether Jesuit, Dominican or Franciscan, saw was the need to discuss the rudiments of the Christian faith in terms of universal principles of natural theology applicable to the entire human race. That such principles challenged the Chinese view of the world the missionaries acknowledged. But it must equally be remembered that the Catholic Church was simultaneously undergoing challenges as well, since, by the discovery of the Indies (East and West), the Church was forced to recognise that it had a message to peoples throughout the entire world. Some of the leaders in the Church in that era began to understand that in order to deliver that message effectively the Church could no longer remain Eurocentric. These challenges the Jesuits faced in China. Ricci opened a pathway by focussing on the Confucian Classics and engaging in discussions with several leading Buddhists. In addition, Verbiest saw the need to penetrate even more deeply into Chinese classical literature. A few decades later Foucquet tried to widen that perspective by his research into the Taoist classics that neither Ricci nor Verbiest apparently cited. Nonetheless, the core of the approach of all three Jesuits was the same, that is, to use the arguments of natural theology as a basis to open a dialogue with the Chinese. Although the status of Christianity in China has changed since the mid-Qing period, that dialogue of the Church with China still continues in our own day, due in no small way to the efforts of the Jesuits and other missionaries to start such conversations more than four centuries ago.

³⁹ For a stimulating discussion on the possibility of such translation, however, see A. C. Graham's essay "The Relation of Chinese Thought to the Chinese Language," in his *Disputers of the Tao. Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*, La Salle, 1989, pp. 389-428, esp. pp. 408-414 where he discusses Chinese concepts comparable with being as well as modern translations of western ontology into Chinese. Cummins does not cite this work.

RENAISSANCE RHETORIC IN LATE MING CHINA:
ALFONSO VAGNONI'S
INTRODUCTION TO HIS *SCIENCE OF COMPARISON*

Erik Zürcher

The relative success of the Jesuit mission in late Ming times was to a large extent the result of the fact that interested members of the Confucian élite were prepared to accept them as *Xiru*, “literati from the West”, and it is well known how much effort was spent by Matteo Ricci and his successors to build up that image. Being *ru* had many implications, and in order to prove their acceptability as an outlandish kind of high-class literati the Jesuits had to use various arguments. Apart from adopting as much as possible the refined literati life-style, the Jesuits constantly emphasised three themes.

In the first place, they argued that Europe, their region of origin, was (even in Confucian terms) highly civilised, that it was a world of benevolent government, peace and order, with excellent charitable institutions and, above all, a remarkable system of higher education. Secondly, they used an argument that did not fail to impress Chinese scholars: Europe was by no means illiterate. On the contrary, it was a region of ancient literary traditions and famous authors, a world of books and libraries. And, in the third place, since in the West both ecclesiastical and secular authorities were said to have joined hands in maintaining high moral standards in education and in literature, European culture could be represented as a source of virtue and wisdom. It is clear how this glorified image of European civilisation could serve to bolster the status of the Jesuit missionary: the virtues attributed to Europe naturally reflected upon himself, and made him, in the eyes of Chinese devotees and sympathisers, a true scholar: a highly educated preacher of moral values and “words of wisdom”.

All this was directed towards a wide audience, much wider than the more restricted circles of Christian converts. For the latter the missionaries produced a great number of texts and tracts of a purely religious nature, ranging from the articles of

the Credo to edifying tales about saints and miracles. In addition, some works, like Ricci's celebrated *Tianzhu shiyi*, were written to make interested literati acquainted with some basic Christian beliefs, using rational arguments as well as "scriptural evidence" derived from the Confucian classics. But apart from such Christian or proselytising texts, the Jesuits were also active in producing works that belong to what may be called "wisdom literature": a type of moralising treatise in which specifically Christian themes are absent or no more than marginal, and which therefore could easily appeal to Confucian literati. Such works - mostly collections of moral maxims and edifying anecdotes - could be enjoyed by Chinese readers as an exotic kind of *shanshu*, "Good Books", that enjoyed great popularity in late Ming times.

As in so many other respects, it was Ricci who created the prototypes - in fact, his *Jiaoyou lun* (Discourse on Friendship, 1595) and his *Ershiwu yan* (Twenty-five Statements, 1605) were expressly written for a general, non-Christian readership, partly to establish Ricci's reputation as a moral teacher, and partly to prepare the readers' minds by presenting to them some samples of "wisdom from the West". Both treatises consist of short passages translated or paraphrased from classical European sources: *Jiaoyou lun* is based upon the *Sententiae et exempla* of Andreas Eborensis (Paris, 1590), a collection of edifying statements borrowed from Cicero, Seneca, and many other classical authors, and *Ershiwu yan* basically is a (somewhat "sinicised") translation of a Latin version of Epictetus' *Encheiridion*, with some additions made by Ricci. In both texts the Christian element is minimal: the Chinese are confronted with a kind of perennial wisdom inspired by the ideas and ideals of later Stoicism. As has been demonstrated by Christopher A. Spalatin in his study on the *Ershiwu yan*,¹ Ricci and the other early Jesuit missionaries must have been familiar with Stoicist moral philosophy that, in more or less Christianised forms, was very popular at the time, and Spalatin may be right in his contention that they consciously made use of it in a Confucian milieu because of certain striking resemblances between the Stoicist and Confucian world-views.

¹ Cf. C.A. Spalatin S.J., *Matteo Ricci and a Confucian Christianity. A Study Based upon Ricci's Book of 25 Paragraphs* (Theol. Dr. dissertation), Rome, 1974.

This wisdom-literature is virtually the only element of European humanistic culture that was introduced by the Jesuits into seventeenth-century China. This point should be stressed for, after what has been said so far about the Jesuit attempts at Europe promotion, it might seem that the European "humanities" (in our definition of the term - the English equivalent of *Geisteswissenschaften*, which is a nineteenth-century German invention) were adequately presented to Chinese scholars already in late Ming times. That conclusion would be totally mistaken. The Chinese were told much *about* European literary studies, but in actual fact the Jesuits made them acquainted with only a few selected, fragmentary products of western literary culture, leaving out all the rest.

The most striking fact is that European history remained a mystery to the Chinese audience: a vague and indistinct stretch of time, peopled with all kinds of kings, saints and sages, who figure in hundreds of incidental anecdotes and edifying *exempla*, without any chronological framework. The only elements of chronological sequence and coherence that are mentioned in Jesuit texts are derived from the Bible: the coherent account of creation, paradise, and paradise lost; the story of the Flood; then, after a hiatus of many centuries, the revelation of the Mosaic Law, and, again after a thousand years of moral degeneration, the Incarnation, synchronised (in terms of Chinese history) with the eighth year of emperor Ai, at the very end of the Western Han. All this took place in "Judea"; European history remained a *terra incognita*.

In geographical descriptions of individual countries the historical and legendary information is derived from both classical and modern sources; the anonymous "ancient kings" can be identified with monarchs ranging from King David to St. Louis, and from Darius to Charles V.

The fact that European history was presented as an amorphous mass of western lore lacking any chronological perspective must have made a strange impression upon Chinese literati, who were so acutely aware of history and chronology. It must have reminded them of those Buddhist stories about saintly kings and sages who are said to have been active sometime, somewhere, in a timeless expanse of a thousand or a million *kalpas*. We can understand why Yang Guangxian says that Europeans do not have any understanding of history, and

why the editors of the *Siku quanshu* compare Aleni's world geography with the wild phantasms of the *Shanhai jing*.

If we turn to language - another basic constituent of what we call the *humaniora* - the harvest is practically zero. As far as we know, the Jesuits did not engage in any form of language teaching, not even Latin. The only text that at least touches upon the field of language is Trigault's *Xiru ermu zi* which after all is no more than a kind of Chinese pronunciation dictionary.

And, finally, it is a striking fact that no attempt was made to introduce the rich traditions of European literary art to the Chinese. Of course the missionaries had no affinity with *belles-lettres* - they had little in common with Petrarca, let alone with Boccaccio or Rabelais. It may well be that they considered much of modern western vernacular literature as frivolous and morally subversive. But they must at least have been familiar with selections from classical authors of impeccable standing which they had memorised as a part of their primary education, and it remains a surprising fact that they never revealed any of those riches to the Chinese. The rather insipid popular songs translated by Ricci to be sung to the harpsichord of course do not deserve the name of literature. Our conclusion must be rather disappointing: in what we consider the three most essential fields of humanist culture - language, literature, and history - the Jesuits failed to make European civilisation known to the Chinese. The only sector in which they were active was one aspect of Rhetoric: the moralistic sayings of "ancient saints and sages".

The work that forms the subject of this paper, the *Pixue* (Science of Comparison) by the Italian missionary Alfonso Vagnoni (Gao Yizhi), definitely belongs to this tradition of general wisdom literature. It is a large collection of more than 700 short *sententiae* each of which has the literary form of a "comparison" (*pi*, comprising both metaphor and simile). As in the case of Ricci's works mentioned above, the Christian element is almost non-existent. Taken as a whole, it is a compendium of western humanist, man-oriented wisdom, and also, as has been pointed out above, an interesting example of indirect Europe promotion.

It is by no means surprising that Vagnoni should have produced such a work, for, with the possible exception of Giulio

Aleni (Ai Rulüe, 1582-1649) no missionary of late Ming times had been so active in acquainting the Chinese with aspects of western civilisation.

Vagnoni was born in 1568 or 1569 in Trofanello near Turin.² He completed his studies in Milan. For our subject it is significant that before sailing to Macao (1603) he spent some time teaching Rhetoric. In 1605 he settled in Nanking, with the Chinese name of Wang Fengsu. We shall not deal here with the first phase of his life in China, which dramatically ended in 1616 with the first persecution of Christianity in China, instigated by the Nanking Vice-minister of Rites, Shen Que. Vagnoni was forced to retire to Macao, and when in 1624 he succeeded in entering China again, he had changed his name into Gao Yizhi (zi: Zesheng).

He settled in Jiangzhou, a prefectural town in southern Shanxi, where Christianity had been introduced only recently. He was much supported by converted members of the Han and Duan families, notably by the Christian community leaders Han Lin ("Thomas Han", ca. 1600-1644), his brother Han Yun ("Vitalis"), and Duan Gun.

In Jiangzhou Vagnoni was extremely active. When he died in 1640, he had made some 8,000 conversions, including about 200 degree-holders. During the same period he also produced some twenty works in Chinese covering theological subjects, cosmology, scholastics, European customs and institutions, and, as we shall see, European moral philosophy. Most of those texts were adapted translations or paraphrases of European textbooks used in the Jesuit system of education and compilations taken from various western sources.

Among Vagnoni's extant Chinese writings we find two texts that belong to the genre mentioned above - collections of moral *sententiae* with little specifically Christian content.

One of these is entitled *Da dao ji yan* (Recorded Sayings of [Sages who have achieved] Comprehension of the Way),

² For biographical data on Vagnoni (also called Vagnone), see A. Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine*, Shanghai, 1932, vol. I, no. 26; J. Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Rome, 1973, p. 278, article by George H. Dunne S.J. in L.C. Goodrich ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, New York, 1976, pp. 1332-1334.

(preface by Han Yun dated 1636).³ It is a curious text that must have left Chinese readers bewildered by the large number of rulers and sages from western classical Antiquity, who are mentioned by name, and presented without any attempt to place them in a historical context. Among the sayings of philosophers and other “famous worthies” (*mingshi, daxian*), those of Seneca (Senijia) and Protagoras (Buludage) hold the place of honour; but the bulk of famous *dicta* are attributed to “ancient virtuous rulers”, ranging from King David (Daweide) to St. Louis (Luduowei), with a marked preference for King Philippus (of Macedonia, Feilibo) and Alexander the Great (Lishan wang).

The text of the *Da dao ji yan* is written in clear and elegant *wenyan*, probably as a result of Han Yun’s editing; Han Yun may also have been responsible for the arrangement of sayings under five headings corresponding to the Five Relations (*wu lun*: ruler and subject; father and son; elder and younger brother; man and wife, and friends), a moral categorisation that no doubt appealed to the Chinese public and reinforced its character as a western *shanshu*. Strictly speaking, the content of the *Da dao ji yan* consists of “pagan wisdom”, although it does not contain any clear reference to pagan beliefs. As has been said above, the Jesuits never revealed even the vaguest outline of western history to the Chinese. Also in this case, rulers and worthies such as Hadrian or Socrates are presented, so to speak, in a cultural and chronological vacuum. The text contains no indication that they belonged to a pre-Christian past; to the Chinese they were simply representatives of an amorphous, historically “decontextualised” store of occidental wisdom.

Vagnoni’s second work of this class, the *Pixue* (Science of Comparison), forms the main subject of this paper.

We know Vagnoni’s work on Comparisons under two titles: the first edition (1632, no place indicated) is called *Pishi jingyan* (Startling Words in the Style of Comparison), in two *juan*; the second edition, published only one year later in Jiangzhou, with

³ Reproduced in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian sanbian* (= *Zhongguo shixue congshu* no. 21), Taipei, 1972, vol. II, pp. 658-754.

a preface by Han Lin, is entitled *Pixue*.⁴ Both editions were “examined” (*yue*) by Duan Gun; for the second edition, that task was also performed by Han Lin, Han Yun, and Han Ji. Unlike the *Da dao ji yan* which was privately published by Han Yun, the *Pixue* bears a full *imprimatur* signed by Manuel Diaz, Giacomo Rho, and Adam Schall.

In his Preface, Han Lin mentions the interesting fact that Vagnoni's original Chinese manuscript was “polished” (*run se*) by no one less than Xu Guangqi (1562-1633), which not only explains the perfect style of the present text, but also proves that it must have been sent to Shanghai, where Xu was spending the last years of his life, before 1632.

As regards content, the *Pixue* is a rambling, incoherent work: more than a hundred pages of main text containing some 700 “comparisons” of various types, dealing with all possible subjects, listed without any attempt at topical arrangement. I have not been able to trace this mass of rhetoric lore to any European original. Collections of edifying *sententiae* were popular and wide-spread, and since Vagnoni himself had once been active as a teacher of Rhetoric and no doubt was familiar with such collections, it may well be that in this work he just compiled all the moralistic statements of this type that he could lay his hands upon, or remember.

From a purely stylistic point of view, and using other categories than those mentioned by Vagnoni (for which see below), we can recognise the following types of comparison in the *Pixue*.

A. *Metaphor*; e.g.

“Ears and eyes are the gates of the mind. If we do not guard them carefully, enemies from outside will enter”⁵

⁴ The collection *Tianzhujiao ... sanbian* (see note 2), vol. II, pp. 565-656, only contains the first of the two *juan*, of the second edition (Jiangzhou, 1633), entitled *Pixue*; on the cover is written, in a seventeenth-century hand, a totally mistaken “translation” of the title or indication of the contents: “de modo confutandi contra gentiles ratione naturali”. A complete copy of the first edition (no pl., 1632), entitled *Pishi jingyu*, is kept in the National Vittorio Emanuele II Library in Rome; thanks to the kind collaboration of Dr. Marina Battaglini I have been able to obtain a microfilm copy of that text.

⁵ *Pixue*, p. 628.

B. *Paired statements (couplets)*

- 1. Showing the pattern of traditional Chinese lexical and syntactic parallelism, e.g.
 “When the wind arises and water is heaving
 all the mud from the bottom is exposed
 When wine is abundant and people get drunk
 all the secrets from their hearts will be exposed” ⁶
- 2. Couplets consisting of two pairs of parallel statements, e.g.
 “If a river is shallow, it will make a loud sound when
 flowing;
 if it is deep, it will flow without any sound.
 The wise, being deep, are always sparing with words,
 The fools, being shallow, always use many words” ⁷
- 3. Paired statements without Chinese-type parallelism, e.g.
 “Water is very weak, yet by dripping for a long time
 a stone will be hollowed out by it.
 A man’s nature may be dull, yet by diligence and hard work
 would he not achieve skill and understanding?” ⁸
- 4. Paired parallel statements, followed by explanatory
 “comment”, e.g.
 “Once a cart-wheel has been bent, it can no more be made
 straight;
 Once a man’s habits have become bad, they can no more be
 made good:
 that is what is called “Habit is like a second nature” ⁹

C. *Simile* (the analogy being made explicit by words like *ru*, *ruo*, *si*, *bi*, etc.)

- 1. Without explanatory comment, e.g.
 “Providing the fool with glory or the sinner with riches
 is just like giving poison to a patient” ¹⁰

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 641.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 625.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 628.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 614.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 609.

- 2. With explanatory comment, e.g.
"Riches are to man what oil is to a lamp:
if there is too much of it, it will be extinguished,
and if there is too little of it, it will give no light" ¹¹
- 3. With abbreviated comment (... "is also like that"), e.g.
"In the Southwest there is a kind of honey
that is sweet but poisonous;
lascivious books are also like that" ¹²

The text is less "decontextualised" than Ricci's *Jiaoyou lun* and *Erhshiwu yan*; it contains a number of references to exotic things (mainly strange animals, plants, and minerals) and to elements of western science, art and material culture, such as the incommensurability of triangle and circle, ¹³ earthquakes being caused by winds enclosed in the earth, ¹⁴ and linear perspective and the use of shadowing in painting; ¹⁵ on the other hand, explicitly Christian elements are extremely rare. Taken as a whole, the content of the book must have been quite acceptable to a general non-Christian public, as a collection of readily understandable and stylistically enjoyable words of wisdom.

If that were all, enough would have been said about the *Pixue*. However, its main interest does not lie in the body of the text, but in the lengthy "author's introduction" (*ziyin*) ¹⁶ in which Vagnoni presents an analytical description of the figure of speech called "comparison" (comprising both metaphor and simile), a subject that played an important role in Classical and Renaissance Rhetoric. As is well known, the Chinese were acquainted with a rough outline of the European system of higher education, as described by Giulio Aleni in his *Xixue fan* (General features of studies in the West), ¹⁷ his *Xifang wenda*

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 640.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 636.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 619.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 618.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 590, 632.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ First published in 1623; in 1628 included by Li Zhizao (1565-1629) in his collection of "Western studies" *Tianxue chuhan*; repr. in *Zhongguo shixue congshu* (cf. note 3) no. 23, Taipei, 1965, vol. I, pp. 21-61.

(Questions and answers about the West), ¹⁸ and his *Zhifang waiji* (Geography of the Outer World); ¹⁹ hence they would know that in that system the Science of Rhetoric (translated as *wenke*) constituted the first part of the curriculum. However, the description of this *wenke* was so vague that no Chinese reader could have formed a precise idea of its content. ²⁰ Vagnoni's exposition of the importance, the function and the structure of comparison constitutes, to my knowledge, the only instance in which at least one rhetoric device was presented to the Chinese in some detail.

In doing so, he naturally made use of rhetorical theory as it was taught and studied in Europe. Here, again, he does not appear to have based himself upon a single western prototype. Since the late sixteenth century, the standard Jesuit textbook of Rhetoric had been a Latin compendium *De arte rhetorica*, ²¹ written by the Jesuit Cyprianus Soarius, and we may assume that Vagnoni had studied it in his formative years. On the other hand, since he himself had taught Rhetoric, he must have been well acquainted with Soarius' main sources: Aristotle

¹⁸ First published in 1637; variant title *Xifang dawen*; Chinese text and English translation in J. L. Mish, "Creating an Image of Europe for China: Aleni's *Hsi-fang ta-wen*", *Monumenta Serica* 23 (1964), pp. 1-87.

¹⁹ First published in 1623; in 1629 included in *Tianxue chuhan* (cf. note 16); reed. Taipei 1965, vol. III, pp. 1355-1412.

²⁰ According to Aleni's *Xixue fan* (p. 27-28), the *wenke* or *Rhetorica* (*Leduolijia*) comprises four subjects: the study of the "illustrious teachings of ancient sages: the histories of various countries; various kinds of *belles-lettres* (*shiwen*), and the composition of essays (*wenzhang*) and disputations (*yilun*); cf. also P.M. D'Elia, "Le Generalità sulle Scienze Occidentali di Giulio Aleni", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 25 (1957), pp. 58-76, esp. p. 7, and B. Luk Hung-kay, "Thus the Twain Did Meet? The Two Worlds of Giulio Aleni" (unpubl. Dr.diss.), University of Indiana, 1977, esp. pp. 69-74. In his *Zhifang waiji* (ch. 2, p. 1360) Aleni says that the *wenke* constitutes the phase of elementary education (*xiaoxue*); it starts at the age of ten, and takes seven or eight years to complete. In his *Xifang wenda* (Mish, p. 11 and 45) he makes the interesting remark that western education in Rhetoric is like the study of literary composition (*wenzhang*) for the Chinese triennial examinations.

²¹ C. Soarius S.J., *De arte rhetorica libri tres, ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano praecipue deprompti*, first ed. Brixen, 1581, esp. I.20 ("De similitudine et dissimilitudine"), III.9 ("De metaphora"), and III.10 ("Quadruplex sit translatio"). I have used the Bergamo edition of 1650.

(*Rhetorica* ²² and *Poetica* ²³), Cicero (*Orator* and *De oratore* ²⁴), and, above all, Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae*, ²⁵ which generally was regarded as the most systematic and authoritative exposition of the "art of persuasion". ²⁶ In spite of all the distortion and simplification that Vagnoni could not avoid in presenting this complicated and highly technical subject in classical Chinese, we can still recognise some of the basic ideas in his Introduction.

For a full translation of Vagnoni's text and its correspondence with western Classical sources I refer to Appendix II; here only the gist of the argument will be given.

Vagnoni starts by observing that thanks to his power of reason man is able "to infer what is hidden from what is evident"; this is how we should understand the Confucian principle of *gezhi*. ²⁷ Now comparison is a method to elucidate hidden principles; that is why saints and sages have always made ample use of it. In addition, comparison has an aesthetic effect: "it also adds literary flavour and force to our ways of expression that otherwise would be plain and weak". The vast treasures of western literature abound with beautiful comparisons relating to all fields of human experience and

²² Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), *Rhetorica*, original text in I. Bekker ed., *Aristotelis opera*, 2 vols, Academia Regia Borusica, Berlin, 1831: vol. II, pp. 1354-1420; English translation by W. Rhys Roberts, in W.D. Ross ed., *The Works of Aristotle*, 12 vols, Oxford, 1928-1952: vol. 11, pp. 1354a-1419b (page numbers referring to both Bekker's edition of the original text and to the English translation).

²³ Aristotle, *De Poetica*, original text in *Aristotelis opera*, vol. II, pp. 1447-1462; English translation by J. Bywater, in W.D. Ross, vol. 11, pp. 1447a-1462b (page numbers referring to both Bekker's edition of the original text and to the English translation).

²⁴ M. Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.), *De oratore*, in *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera rhetorica*, W. Friedrich ed., Leipzig, 1912, esp. III. 38-43 (paragraphs 146-170), pp. 201-206.

²⁵ M. Fabius Quintilianus (ca.35-ca.100 A.D.) *Institutionis oratoriae libri XII*, L. Radermacher ed., Leipzig, 1959, 2 vols.

²⁶ Cf. J.J. Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1983; J.E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism*, Princeton, 1968.

²⁷ Contraction of *gewu* "the investigation of things" and (as its result) *zhizhi* "the extension of knowledge", the first two stages in the process of learning that leads from investigation, via self-perfection, to ideal government, as set forth in the first chapter of the canonical Great Learning (*Daxue*).

natural phenomena. Therefore the skilful use of comparison requires both insight and great erudition.

After this stylistically sinicised but still quite recognisable Renaissance introduction - it is a hyperbolic encomium, a "strong commendation in somewhat exaggerated terms", aimed at alerting and impressing the reader - Vagnoni mentions the fact that he has made a compilation of comparisons coined by "ancient sages of my country" at the request of Duan Gun.

Because comparison implies elucidation of one statement by means of another one, it always combines two "terms", which Vagnoni calls *duan*, "clues" or "issues", one that is concrete and self-evident, and one that is less obvious. The first one is called the "adduced term" (*suo qu zhi duan*), and the second one "the solicited term" (*suo qiu zhi duan*). It is essential that the statement that serves as the adduced term be clear and appropriate.

The two terms must belong to the same category and status: virtue can be compared to something sublime and shining, like the sun, and evil should correspond to something pernicious, like poison.

It is also important to consider the social status of the readership to whom the comparison is addressed: when talking to a scholar, choose images derived from study; when talking to a ruler, select subjects related to government.

Stylistic quality is essential: comparisons must be terse and elegant, in order to avoid boredom; for the same reason, variation should be effected by using comparisons of different kinds.

Comparisons may be *explicit* (two parallel statements comparing two independent topics: "A captain sails with the wind - a scholar follows the times") or *implicit* (what we would call a true metaphor, asking a scholar "why don't you sail with the wind?").

It may be *direct* (indicating correspondence: "the eye is like the sun", both being bright) or *indirect* (indicating contrast: "knowledge being everlasting" vs. "riches being exhaustible").

A *self-evident* (lit. "not explained", *wu jie*) comparison simply juxtaposes the two terms, whereas an *annotated* comparison (*you jie*) is provided with an explanation ("the sun shines, and thereby ...; the Sage governs, and thereby").

In a *simple* comparison, two terms are compared; in a *complex* one, more than two; thus Wisdom dwelling in the heart

can be compared, within a single nexus, with the ruler in the state; the captain on the ship; and the coachman on the carriage. Or each term may in turn consist of a pair of contrasting terms ("If A, then B, but if A', then B', just as if X, then Y, but if X', then Y'").

Analogy may be implicit, the idea that both terms have in common being left to the reader to imagine ("A is like B"), but often the common or shared property is expressed ("A is like B, because both are X"); here, again, the explanation may become very elaborate.

Finally, a single, basic simile, like "Time is like precious jade", can be the starting-point of an almost unlimited number of more specific comparisons, depending on the ideas which one associates with "jade" (to be guarded; being flawless; possibly to be recovered after having been lost; destructible; representing a limited market value, etc.) and with "time" (to be treasured and not to be wasted; to be used without any deficiency; unrecoverable after its "loss"; indestructible; of inestimable value, etc.). To prove this point, Vagnoni presents nine variations on the theme "Time is like precious jade", adding that the series could be further expanded at will.

The Introduction is concluded with a warning against a too prolific use of such comparisons: the style will become overburdened and repetitious, and provoke boredom and ridicule.

So far Vagnoni, in his attempt to elucidate a few elements of western oratorical art. If we compare his statements with western Classical examples, we may get a picture of how he adapted the message to his Chinese audience. We must, however, also consider that his Introduction, like the main text, was written with the assistance of Han Lin, and edited by Xu Guangqi. The text is not a fresh "input" created by an outsider; it already represents a first stage in the process of adaptation and digestion. If considered in that light, we can recognise the result of at least three of the basic mechanisms that are operative in such a process: change of emphasis, selection, and simplification.

The classical theoreticians treat the metaphor and simile exclusively as a technical tool: a way of making the message more attractive and persuasive; their moral value, which is

described by Vagnoni, is not emphasised. Thus, Aristotle only remarks that “Metaphor ... gives style clearness, charm, and distinction as nothing else can”,²⁸ and about the simile (*similitudo*) Quintilian merely says that it “embellishes the *oratio* and makes it sublime, florid, cheerful, and admirable”.²⁹ Essential is the element of freshness and surprise; according to Aristotle, “Liveliness is especially conveyed by the metaphor: ... because the hearer expects something different, his acquisition of the new idea impresses him all the more. His mind seems to say, ‘Yes, to be sure, I never thought of that’”.³⁰ For that reason the comparison should not be too obvious: “Metaphors must be drawn ... from things that are related to the original thing, and yet not obviously so related - just as in philosophy an acute mind will perceive resemblances even in things far apart”.³¹ Quintilian even argues that “the more far-fetched the comparison is, the more it will create the effect of novelty and unexpectedness”.³² In all this there is no question of moral intention of message. The true master of metaphor is not a moralist but an artist. As Aristotle concludes: “It (i.e. the perfect metaphor) is also a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars”.³³ It is highly questionable whether the great Stagirite would recognise his intention in Vagnoni’s thesis that comparison, apart from its aesthetic value, serves “to extol the beauty of meritorious works and to criticise bad qualities; to enlighten the ignorant and to instruct the virtuous”.

But in Vagnoni’s time the principles and techniques of Rhetoric had become an all-pervading art, including theology and moral philosophy; the art of delivering a sermon had developed into an oratorical practice, and so it is understandable that Vagnoni regarded the skilful use of comparison as a way to lead people to virtue. But in any case this emphasis on moral

²⁸ *Rhetorica* III. 2, ed. Bekker and trsl. W.R. Roberts, p. 1405a.8-10.

²⁹ *Inst. oratoriae* VIII. 3: “similitudinis genus ornat orationem facitque sublimem, foridam, iucundam, mirabilem”.

³⁰ *Rhetorica* III.11, orig. text and trsl. W.R. Roberts, p. 1412b.17-21.

³¹ *Ibidem*, III.11, p. 1412a.9-12.

³² *Inst. oratoriae* VIII.3: “nam quo quaeque longius petita est, hoc plus adfert novitatis atque inexpectata magis est”.

³³ *De Poetica* ch. 22, orig. text and trsl. J. Bywater, p. 1459a.5-8.

content, and probably also the difficulty of rendering the finer points of rhetorical technique into Chinese, led to a reduction in the number of topics treated. Vagnoni did not hesitate to be highly selective, leaving out, for instance, the different uses of metaphor in poetic and prosaic language, the order in which the terms are presented, and the relation between metaphor and simile.

This obviously has led to simplification: many of the finer points appear to have been skipped. Thus we find no trace of Aristotle's acute observation that a single analogous comparison is reversible, and can produce two complementary metaphors ("old age = evening" produces both "old age is the evening of life" and "evening is the old age of the day", the link between the two being the (unexpressed) concept of "lateness").³⁴

A further step in the process of reception and digestion is represented by the preface to the *Pixue* written by Vagnoni's disciple, sponsor and assistant, Han Lin (for a full translation, see Appendix I). It is a document that contains some puzzling statements.

In the first place, Han Lin apparently has taken Vagnoni's work about the use of comparison (*viz.* to elucidate what is unknown by means of what is known) too literally, for the two examples which he gives are wide off the mark: if one says that a *tan* is a bow with a bamboo string, and that the *qilin* ("unicorn") is a composite animal, it is a definition, not a comparison.

In another passage, Vagnoni's scholarly and controlled use of comparisons is contrasted with the "wild and uncontrolled" language of Buddhism, here personified by the fourth-century Khotanese monk Gaozuo, who was hiding his ignorance under a veil of silent mystification.

But the most revealing passage is where he refers to a remark about comparison made by the early medieval critic Liu Xie in his famous work *Wenxin diaolong* (The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons), the earliest and most authoritative

³⁴ *De Poetica* ch. 21, p. 1457b.15 sqq.

book-size Chinese text on literary criticism.³⁵ The two lines quoted are of no consequence, but the reference to Liu Xie proves that in Han Lin's perception there was a relation between the rhetoric figures contained in the *Pixue* and the Chinese tradition of refined literary expression. He had every reason to believe so. In the first place, since very early times simile and metaphor had been a regular feature of Chinese literary texts, both in prose and in poetry, as probably is the case in any other developed literature. As a literary device it is treated at length by Liu Xie in section 36 of his book, under the heading *Bi xing* ("Comparison and Suggestive Metaphor"). In other words, as in so many other cases, the elements introduced by the western missionary were not absolute novelties. To the educated Chinese they rather were exotic additions to their own indigenous tradition. In the second place, the sensation of familiarity must have been strengthened by the fact that Liu Xie in analysing comparison as a literary device proceeds along lines that sometimes closely resemble Vagnoni's. Liu characterises comparison as "Describing things in order to approximate ideas, and to use high-flown words in order to intimate facts" (*Xie wu yi fu yi, yang yan yi qie shi*). Thus, gold and pewter may stand for "illustrious virtue", and a jade tally for a man of great qualities.³⁶

Liu furthermore distinguishes four basic types of comparison, as follows:

- 1) Similarity of sound, as when the wind in the trees is compared to the sound of a reed-organ;
- 2) Formal resemblance, as when flying birds are compared to bits of white cloud in a darkened sky;
- 3) Mental resemblance, as when the sweet tune of a flute is compared to the loving care a father gives to his son; and
- 4) Factual illustration, as when the flowing movements of dancers are compared to a silk filament unreel from a cocoon.³⁷

³⁵ Chinese text and annotated translation in Vincent Yu-chung Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons. A Study of Thought and Pattern in Chinese Literature*, Hong Kong, 1988.

³⁶ *Wenxin diaolong*, Sec. 36; Shih, p. 379.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, Shih, pp. 381-383.

Here (as in Vagnoni's Introduction) the definitions are not very clearly formulated, and the examples given are sometimes hard to match with the definitions, but it cannot be doubted that in this classic of Chinese literary criticism we find a serious attempt to present the phenomenon of comparison in an analytical way.

But even more important is the fact that a very great number of the comparisons in the *Pixue* have been recast (probably due to Xu Guangqi's "polishing") into what is perhaps the most characteristic Chinese literary trope: that of "lexical plus syntactic parallelism". Examples have already been given above, when listing the various types of comparison found in the *Pixue*. Of course some of the original *sententiae* upon which the Chinese comparisons are based may already have had the form of an antiphonic couplet with *parallelismus membrorum*, but in general such western examples are short, proverb-like statements, like "a friend to everybody is a friend to nobody", or "the higher the fool, the greater the fall". They do not resemble Chinese-type elaborate parallel constructions of which we find so many examples in our text, such as

"Sick eyes/cannot stand/the light/of a small lamp
how can they stand/the glare/of the sun?
A petty mind/cannot bear/the opposition/of one word
how can it bear/the impact/of great sorrow?"

For anyone familiar with Chinese parallel style it must be obvious that in the vast majority of cases we are dealing with "bits of western wisdom" that have been recast into a thoroughly Chinese form, in keeping with Chinese literary tradition and Chinese standards of appreciation.

It pleads for Alfonso Vagnoni that he, in the best tradition of Matteo Ricci, was prepared to play the role of purveyor of exotic materials, leaving the work of artistic adaptation and digestion to his Chinese collaborators. It is this high degree of adaptation that explains Han Lin's effusion of enthusiasm for these elegant metaphors, praising them as "splendid, like the combined riches of strung pearls, ... dazzling the eyes, and intoxicating the mind".

APPENDIX I

HAN LIN: Preface to *Pixue* (The Art of Comparison), 1633

What is “comparison”? It means illustrating one thing by means of another thing. Our spirit has three faculties, ³⁸ and intelligence (*mingwu*) is one of them. If a principle cannot be understood directly, it is necessary to illustrate what we do not yet know by means of something we know. There once was somebody who did not know what a *tan* was, so he asked: “what does a *tan* look like?” When someone replied: “A *tan* looks like a *tan*”, he still did not understand, so he again replied: “A *tan* looks like a bow, but its string is made of bamboo”. When he [first man] asked: “What kind [of animal] is a *lin*?”, and [the other one] replied: “Just like a *lin*”, the questioner said: “If I had ever seen a *lin*, I would not ask you!”, whereupon the other one said: “A *lin* has the body of a stag, the tail of an ox, the hooves of a deer, and the back of a horse”, and then the questioner understood. This is what Liu Yanhe meant when he said: “Things may be as far apart as [the] Hu [in the far north] and the Yue [in the far south], but when brought together they are [as close as] liver and gall-[bladder]”. ³⁹

Master Gao from the far west has come from a region not even reached by [the legendary travellers Da-]zhang and [Shu]Hai; ⁴⁰ he has read books not even seen in the [celestial] Langgwan library, ⁴¹ but with his brush and ink he has created a ford and a bridge [spanning that distance], and even in his old age he has not grown tired of it. And now again, observing and investigating [all things] above and below, and showing them by analogy, he has written this *Art of Comparison*, in two books.

³⁸ According to scholastic philosophy the human rational soul has the basic faculties or powers of intellect (*wu*), volition (*yu*) and memory (*ji*).

³⁹ Liu Yanhe is Liu Xie, the author of the *Wenxin diaolong* (ca. 500 A.D.). The lines quoted here are found in Liu's Eulogy (*zan*) at the end of sec. 26; cf. Shih, p. 385.

⁴⁰ The compound Zhanhai stands for Da Zhang (or Tai Zhang) and Shu Hai, the names of two subjects of ancient emperor Yu, who had travelled to the farthest confines of the known world.

⁴¹ *Langgwan*, is described in the *Langgwan ji* (attributed to the Yuan author Yi Shizhen but probably a Ming forgery) as a marvellous country where the third-century scholar Zhang Hua was shown a huge library kept by the Immortals.

[In this work] he has brought near to us what is distant, and made new what is stale. [His comparisons] are splendid, like the combined richness of strung pearls; intoxicating, like a generous serving of good, strong wine; surprising, like a fresh wind suddenly taking hold of one's body; gentle, like a fine rain that penetrates into the soil. It dazzles the eyes and intoxicates the mind; it enters into our very flesh and marrow; [by studying it], evil is laid to rest and goodness is furthered, day by day, and yet we do not know the reason [why this happens]. "Only one who is able to make ample use of comparisons can be a teacher" - that may truly be said of Master [Gao]!

Anciently, the [Buddhist] priest Gaozuo did not know Chinese ⁴² - but how do we know whether he just was not clever in hiding his ignorance [by pretending not to know the language]? If, [as in Buddhist texts], excessive use is made of metaphor, it only leads to wild and uncontrolled [language]; it is not how Confucianists express themselves.

However, understanding is something that depends on the [individual] person. You may knock on a plate [to make noise] and hold a candle, but there still will be blind and deaf persons [who will not perceive it]; you may explain the sweet taste of honey, but how can one [who does not know it] experience it but by tasting it with his own palate?

[The text of] this book has been "polished" by my teacher, Master Xu Xuanhu, and I and Mr. Duan styled Jiuzhang ⁴³ have humbly performed the labour of editing. My clansman [Han] Tiehan has contributed from our family property, ⁴⁴ so that the

⁴² Gaozuo, "[Master of] the High Seat", was the honorific appellation of the Kuchean master Śrīmītra, who in the early fourth century had arrived in present-day Nanking, and there became a kind of venerable curiosum, amazing his high-class admirers by his "silent understanding" of everything that was said, although he did not know (or pretended not to know) Chinese; cf. my *Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1972, vol. I, pp. 103-104. Here Han Lin appears to use Gaozuo as a school example of Buddhist trickery.

⁴³ Xu Xuanhu = Xu Guangqi; "Mr. Duan" refers to Duan Gun.

⁴⁴ *Qingtān*, lit. "a blue carpet", refers to an anecdote about the fourth-century scholar and calligrapher Wang Xianzhi: he remained perfectly calm when his house was pilfered by robbers; he only kindly asked them not to take his blue carpet, which was a precious heirloom handed down in his family (cf. *Jinshu* ch. 80, biography of Wang Xianzhi, ed. Zhonghua shuju, pp. 2104-2105). For that reason the term is used to denote "precious family possessions".

artisans could complete [the work of engraving and printing]. All this deserves to be recorded.

In the year *guiyou* of the Chongzhen era (1633), on the first day after the winter solstice,
written by the Hut-dwelling Retired Scholar Han Lin.

APPENDIX II

VAGNONI: Introduction (p. 575-586)

Although man is, indeed, the most intelligent of all beings, he does not equal the heavenly spirits ⁴⁵ who fully understand the principles of things without the labour of deduction and investigation. That is why he has to infer what is hidden from what is evident: on the basis of what is already clear to him he will fathom what is not yet understood, and starting from [his observation of] how things are he will gradually come to know the reasons why they are so. This is the science of “extending one’s knowledge by the investigation of things (*gezhi*)”.

Now one of the many ways to understand what is hidden is the use of comparison. Therefore saints and sages have made use of comparisons in all their canonical writings, so that even ignorant men and women could be made to understand what was not clear to them.

Moreover, the method of comparison not only serves to elucidate principles that are obscure: it also adds literary flavour and force to our ways of expression [that otherwise would be] plain and weak. ⁴⁶ And whoever wants to extol the beauty of meritorious works and to criticise bad qualities; to enlighten the ignorant and to instruct the virtuous; to stimulate the indolent and to restrain the reckless, can make use of it to gladden their ears and to penetrate deeply into their minds. It is

⁴⁵ *Tianshen*: the angels.

⁴⁶ Reminiscent of Aristotle and Quintilian’s remarks about metaphor and simile as means to make the style beautiful and attractive, cf. above, notes 27 and 28.

just like the art of *dianhua* ⁴⁷ that is transmitted among the common people: the metal used is iron, but if the object is inlaid with precious stones it still becomes a thing of beauty.

[In Europe] there is such a mass of books from ancient and modern times that it would make oxen perspire by their weight, and fill buildings up to the rafters, and they all contain a wealth of beautiful comparisons. Everything can be used for making comparisons: even astronomy and geography; the steepness of mountains and the flowing of water; the myriad phenomena in the emptiness of space, and the discord and concord of the four elements; as well as the rare beauty of plants and flowers, and the strange nature and qualities of birds and quadrupeds.

However, in order to excel in the use of comparison one first has to understand the nature of all things, otherwise the comparison may not be appropriate, and its purport will become obscured. That is why [only] those persons who have gained deep understanding of the principles of things [can] use comparisons in such a way that every twist is straightened; every obscurity clarified; every height scaled; every principle understood, verifying all theories, and paying due attention to all branches of learning.

[All the time] I intended to discuss the science of comparison with our sympathisers, and now Master Duan [Gun] from Jiuzhang has asked me to do so. I have therefore summarised and listed a number of comparisons [coined by] ancient sages of my country; they are preceded by the rules for using comparisons.

A comparison serves to clarify the hidden and dark principles of one thing by availing oneself of the evident and clear principles of another thing. ⁴⁸ Therefore a comparison

⁴⁷ *Dianhua* usually refers to transforming objects (by magic) or substances (by alchemy), but from the context it seems to indicate that here it denotes some kind of metalworking technique.

⁴⁸ Cf. Aristotle's *De Poetica* ch. 21 (trsl. J. Bywater, p. 1447b): metaphor (lit. "transference", in Latin rendered by *translatio*) basically consists in giving a thing a name that belongs to something else. Quintilian's *Inst. oratoriae* VIII.3: care must be taken that the adduced term should not be more obscure than the object of the comparison; poets may deliberately use metaphors that are hard to understand, but "non idem oratorem decebit, ut occultis aperta demonstret".

always combines two terms (*duan*). One of these is already clearly understandable, and it is adduced in order to clarify what is not yet understood; it is called the “adduced term” (*suo qu zhi duan*). The [second] one is not yet understood, and can be clarified by means of the other one; it is called the “solicited term” (*suo qiu zhi duan*). If you say

“Virtue illuminates the heart;
The eye illuminates the body”,

the principle of [the statement] “The eye illuminates the body” is more evident than that of “Virtue illuminates the heart”, so the latter one is clarified by means of the first one. If the principle that is adduced is not clear or not appropriate, it will never be capable of elucidating the other term.⁴⁹

It is also necessary that the two terms are of the same category and of equal standing. Since, for instance, in man Virtue is something basically sublime and bright, one has to compare it to [another entity] that is sublime and bright. Thus one may say

“Once the sun starts shining
the dark vapours will dissolve,
and the myriad phenomena will come into sight;
Once true Virtue is established
the selfish desires will recede
and all good [feelings] will be born anew”.

And since in man Evil is basically something grievous and venomous, one has to compare it to [another entity] that is grievous and venomous. Thus one may say

“After you have been infected by the poison of a snake[-like]
creature
you surely would panic and hurry to seek a doctor;

⁴⁹ Cf. Aristotle's *Rhetorica* III.2 (trsl. W.R. Roberts, p.1405a-b: in a bad metaphor the disharmony is emphasised by the two terms being placed together; Quintilian's *Inst. oratoriae* VIII.3: beware of using false similes, comparing dissimilar things with each other.

Now that you have incurred the damage done by evil
why is it that you do not exert yourself to seek a
doctor?"

[The terms of] a comparison should not only be of the same category; they also must correspond to the status of the person [to whom it is addressed].⁵⁰ When talking with a scholar, one must choose subjects for comparison that are related to study; when talking with a farmer, subjects related to agriculture; when talking with a ruler, subjects related to government. In addition, one must also consider whether the person in question is wise or dull-witted, good or bad, adjusting [one's words] to his natural disposition and acting according to the situation - only then the comparison will be effective.

The text of a comparison should be terse and not prolix, elegant and not vulgar, clear and not dark. If it is prolix, people will be bored by it; if it is vulgar, they will despise it; if it is dark, the principle [contained in it] will be obscured. It is also advisable to use many variations without sticking to one single type; only then [the style] will not be ridiculed for being stiff and stale.

There is a large variety of methods used in comparison. [Comparisons] may be explicit (*ming*) or implicit (*yin*, "allusive"); indirect (*gu*) or direct (*zhi*); simple (*dan*) or complex (*chong*); explained (*you jie*) or not explained (*wu jie*); they may be paired (*dui*) and antithetic (*xiangfan*) or not paired (*wu dui*) and integrated (*diehe*) into a single entity.⁵¹

An explicit comparison does not need any words [of explanation] and is self-evident. If one says

⁵⁰ Cf. Aristotle's *Rhetorica* III.2 (trsl. W.R. Roberts, p. 1404b: calling a hero who is not of royal status "King of the oar" is not fitting, "because the word 'king' goes beyond the dignity of the subject).

⁵¹ As will appear from what follows, Vagnoni starts by methodically explaining the meaning of these terms, but gradually becomes less consistent; the last category ("not paired, and integrated") is not explained at all.

“The ship’s captain moves along his route by following the wind;

the clever scholar performs his task by following the times”,
[this would be an explicit comparison].

But if one says: “Since you are in office, why don’t you sail with the wind?”, this would be an implicit comparison. Its meaning, [if fully expressed], would be: “if one who occupies an official position wishes to fulfil his task to the utmost, he must imitate the captain’s wisdom and follow the times”.

A direct comparison directly states the identity of “this thing” and “that thing”; an indirect comparison on the contrary expresses the non-identity of “this thing” and “that thing”. If, for instance, [we say]

“The eye is in the body just like the sun is in the sky” this is a direct comparison. [If we say]

“Imparting knowledge is not like the bestowal of riches that are easily exhausted” this is an indirect comparison. [And if we say]

“Imparting knowledge is not like the bestowal of riches that are easily exhausted;

It is like imparting light [using one candle to light other ones] going on without ever being exhausted:

Not only that [the light] is not diminished, but it even grows stronger and shines more brightly”

then this comparison is even more indirect, and thereby even more explicit.

And again, if we say

“The man of Virtue is like the sun
that just by shining blesses a myriad beings”,

this is a direct comparison, but it is not complete. If we say

“Just by emitting its light

the sun effectively nourishes the myriad species;

just by establishing his doctrine

the man of Virtue surely regulates the myriad people”

then we have a comparison in which the two terms are well-matched, and in which the principle is clearly expressed by analogy (*xianglei*).

Again, if we say

“The doctrine of the man of Virtue
is not the taste of one spoonful

that does not suffice to satisfy the masses”
 this is an indirect comparison, for it directly expresses what the
 man of Virtue does not stand for, and indirectly suggests what
 he considers right.

Within the category of direct comparisons a distinction is
 made between detailed ones and terse ones. If we say

“All those who plot to destroy their state
 will thereby also destroy their [own] families
 are they not utter fools?”,

this is a direct statement, but it lacks both literary flavour and
 force. Even if we would express it in a comparison, and say

“All those who plan to sink and drown the state
 where they are living
 will thereby also sink and drown themselves and their
 families

is that not very foolish?”,
 we would make use of [the theme of] a seagoing vessel in
 making this comparison, but it is not yet complete. So we
 should make it more detailed, and say

“A man who plans to bore a hole in the ship on which he
 is sailing, and, as a result, will also drown himself
 would be an utter fool.

A man who plans to destroy the state in which he is
 living, and, as a result, will also destroy his family -
 how foolish would he be?”

In a simple comparison one just presents the two terms,
 this one and that one, and compares them. In a complex
 comparison more terms are presented, or a series of terms are
 matched with one [other term]. For instance, if we say

“Wisdom dwells in the heart
 just like the ruler dwells in the state”

this is a simple comparison. But if we say

“Wisdom dwells in man’s heart
 like the ruler in the state, like the captain on the ship,
 like the coachman on the carriage”

or if we say

“All creatures have their destination:
 horses are for riding; oxen for ploughing;
 birds for flying -

and men for understanding, and for acting accordingly” these both are complex comparisons.

There are various methods for making a complex comparison. In a single comparison with two terms, each term may again be a combination of two contrasting terms (*xiangfan zhi duan*). Thus one may say

“In the case of a vessel with a narrow mouth,
if you pour a lot of liquid into it,
it will not be able to receive it,
but, on the contrary, you will make [the liquid] run along its sides;
but if you pour it gradually, it will receive all [the liquid]
and so it will be filled.

In the case of instruction given to a young boy,
if you teach him profound principles
he will not be able to understand them,
but, on the contrary, he will be ungrateful to his teacher;
but if you [first] teach him what is simple, he will
understand it all,
and so he will reach perfection”

In making comparisons according to method it often happens that [only] the analogy between the two terms is expressed, without setting forth the reason why [they are analogous]. But there also are cases in which the reason is set forth, as, for example

“One who is obsessed with sex is just like one who is gravely ill:
they both dislike being told the truth”

In this case the two terms [*viz.* the sex maniac and the patient] share one and the same principle [*viz.* self-deception]; that is why they are compared to each other by analogy. But there also are cases in which both terms are provided with an explanation, for instance, when we say

“Vulgar people are just like a flock of sheep.

When sheep are moving together, one walks in front
and the whole flock follows it.

If people stick to the vulgar custom of ‘[following] the leader’

they will lose all sense of right and wrong”

Or, again, when we say

"A benevolent scholar may be compared to a sheep.
A sheep is profitable [to us] by its wool, its milk, its flesh
and its skin.

One who is benevolent does so by his words and his
conduct:

whether near or far away, alive or dead,
he always is of benefit to the world"

Again, if we want to illustrate the greed of an official who
exploits and robs the people of their possessions, we would
make a comparison, as follows:

"That official is not a 'father-and-mother of the people':
he is nothing but a fire from the sky,
causing destruction and damage everywhere
and bringing disaster upon the people"

And if we want to treat the terms in even more detail, and
include the reason why they are included in the comparison, we
could say:

"When a sailor after coming home meets an acquaintance
who [is about to] sail, he will always inform him about the
dangers which he himself has gone through, that he may
take his precautions and be careful, for colleagues and
comrades will always want to protect each other. I have
served as an official in a humble position, and since I have
gone through the many dangers that beset [the exercise of]
government, how could I not inform my colleagues and
comrades with utmost loyalty?"

When making complex comparisons there also are cases in
which "the reason why" is mentioned in detail, as [in the
following example]:

"*Zhigu* ⁵² is the name of a certain herb from the Great West;
whoever eats it will die. Soaking it in grape wine is the only
way to dissolve its poison, but if one mixes it with grape
wine and then drinks it, it is even more poisonous. The
same holds good for the flatterer. By the poison of flattery
he can harm people. After having been criticised for it, he
may seem to have dissolved [his poison]. But if he [himself]

⁵² I have not yet been able to identify this herb; *zhigu* may be either a
transcription or a (probably fanciful) translation.

hides the poison of his flattery under the guise of 'loyal criticism', he will do even more harm".

The number [of statements] in a complex comparison can be almost unlimited. Here I shall give just one case to exemplify all the rest. If one says

"Time is like precious jade,
it has to be treasured",

this is an explicit and direct comparison. If we now again add a literary elaboration (*jia wen jia xiang*), we would say:

- 1] "The more valuable a thing is, the greater will be the care with which it is preserved, and the caution with which it will be used. Now since time is the most precious thing, could you be careless in preserving it, and wasteful in using it?"
- 2] "If someone throws away his precious jade, people know how to blame him. How is it that in the case of someone wasting time, his most valuable possession, there is no one to blame him?"
- 3] "Moreover, what kind of loss do you think 'loss of time' is? It actually is 'loss of life'. Now human life is worth more than any precious thing. People will feel unhappy about even the slightest flaw in their precious jade. Why then would you not be distressed about your life becoming deficient?"
- 4] "Moreover, once you have lost a precious jade, you still may get it back. When time is lost, there is no way to recover it, and no treasure can compensate it."
- 5] "When a piece of precious jade is lost, it mostly happens that another person gets it. So even though it is a loss for you, there still is another one who profits from it. If time is lost, it is a loss for you, and nobody else will profit from it."
- 6] "Moreover, the loss of a piece of precious jade can serve to obstruct the tendency towards extravagance in the person [who has suffered the loss], so it may contribute to your self-cultivation; whereas the loss of time is not only unprofitable, but also blocks the way of [self]cultivation.
- 7] However carefully you may guard a piece of precious jade, you still are worried lest it will be burnt by fire, washed away by water, or stolen by a thief. But whether it is burnt, or washed away, or stolen, you do not bear the responsibility

for it. The treasure that is time cannot be taken away by any force, nor ravaged by any power; if it is wasted, it is [only] your fault. For the loss of the precious jade is brought about by external [causes] which you cannot control, but the loss of time is brought about by an internal [cause], and you cannot shirk the responsibility for it".

- 8] "Moreover, the precious jade you can exchange for landed property or a house, but you cannot use it to buy a good heart or excellent virtue. Only time, if used well, can serve to accumulate excellent knowledge; to realise the virtue of [perfect] sincerity; to achieve immortal fame, and to acquire boundless merit. Thus the greater the benefits of time are, the more serious is the fault of losing it".
- 9] The person who has lost a piece of precious jade will probably not be [guilty of any offense] clearly defined by law, nor will he have to face a stern judge who will investigate his case. But one who is guilty of wasting his time surely will have to face a stern Lord who will investigate and condemn him.⁵³ How, then, would you not be cautious and apprehensive, and be sparing with every inch of time?"

This single comparison [*viz.* "time is more valuable than jade"] contains a number of comparisons of all kinds, and it still can be further expanded at will. However, in making such statements again and again, one must beware of becoming repetitious, [the same thing] appearing time and again. In that case it will only provoke boredom or ridicule: [the phrases] may be many, but what purpose would they serve?

Gao Yizhi
Scholar of the Society of Jesus

⁵³ *Pixue*, pp. 584-586.

Sample comparison (cf. notes 5-12)

A *Metaphor*

耳目，心之門戶也，非勤守之，外敵入矣

B *Paired statements (couplet):*

1. With Chinese-type parallelism:

風起水湧，地中之泥悉露矣

酒多人醉，心中之密悉露矣

2. Two pairs of parallel statements:

川流而大聲者，淺也，流而無聲，深

智者深，恆罕言

愚者淺，恆多言

3. Paired statements without Chinese-type parallelism:

水之弱也，滴久，則石為之穿

人性雖鈍，勤敏攻苦，有不致精透者乎

4. Paired statements with “comment”:

車輪既曲，不能復直

人習既惡，不能復善，所謂習如第二性也

C *Simile:*

1. Without explanatory comment:

加榮於愚，加財於惡，正如進毒於病者也

2. With explanatory comment:

財於人如膏於燈，深則滅，寡則無光

3. With abbreviated comment:

西南有一種蜜，雖甘而毒，姪書之文亦然

GLOSSARY

This is a list of Chinese and Japanese names, terms, titles, and phrases appearing in the texts. Both the list and the index of names has been prepared by the editor on the basis of the indications provided by the authors of the texts. The editor has tried to complete the list, but same names are still missing.

Ai emperor	哀
Ai Rulüe	艾儒略
An dufen shi tushuo di san	按度分時圖說第三
ancha si qianshi	按察司僉事
Anxi	安息
baihua	白話
Baijing bian, Shesheng bian, Bingzhu bian	百警編，攝生編，炳燭編
Baisha yanxing lu	白沙言行錄
Baiyanguan zhi	白雲觀志
baojuan	寶卷
Baopuzi	抱樸子
Baoshu zi	抱屬子
bi xing	比興
Biaodu shuo	表度說
Biaozhong ci	表忠祠
bieji	別集
Bili guijie	比例規解
Bu Tianshi shijia	補天師世家
Budeyi	不得已
Budeyi bian	不得已辯
Buludage	布路大各
Cai Shen	蔡沈
canzheng	參政
ce	測
Celiang fayi	測量法義
Celiang quanyi	測量全義
Celiang yitong	測量異同
Cetian yue shuo	測天約說

Cha Zhilong	查志隆
Chang Feng-chen (Mark)	張奉箴
Changsheng quanjing	長生詮經
Changshu	常熟
chaopai	抄牌
Chen Hao	陳皓
Chen Kui	陳騷
Chen Qixin	陳啟新
Chen Rong	陳榮
Chen Xianzhang	陳獻章
Chen Yidian	陳懿典
Chen Zuolin	陳作霖
Cheng Dayue	程大約
Cheng Ju	成矩
cheng tian	承天
Cheng Yi	程頤
Cheng Yizhi	程一枝
Chenghuang miao	城隍廟
Chenghuang	城隍
Chenzi yanning lu	陳子言行錄
chidao jingwei yi	赤道經緯儀
chong	重
Chongli	崇禮
Chongzhen era	崇禎
Chongzhen lishu	崇禎曆書
Chousuan	籌算
Chuci	楚辭
Chufen Xiyi yi	處分西夷議
Chusao qiyu	楚騷綺語
Cixian tang ji	賜閒堂集
Da dao ji yan	達道記言
Da Ming guanzhi tianxia yudi shuilu chengxian beilan	大明官制天下輿地水路程限備覽
Da Ming huidian	大明會典
Da Ming lichao shilu	大明歷朝實錄
Da Xi ru she	大西儒舍
Da Zhang	大章

Dace	大測
Dai Zhen	戴震
Daishi	岱史
dan	單
dao	道
Daode jing	道德經
Daode zhigui lun	道德指歸論
Dasi dian	大祀殿
Daozang	道藏
Daozang tiyao	道藏提要
Daozang yuanliu kao	道藏源流考
Daozang zimu yinde	道藏子目引得
Datong li	大統歷
Daweide	達味德
daxian	大賢
daxing	大興
daxue	大學
dianhua	點化
diehe	疊合
ding fa	定法
dingsi	丁巳
Dinping jing yi	地平經儀
Dizhen jie	地震解
Dong Zhongshu	董仲舒
Dongfang zazhi	東方雜誌
Donglin	東林
Dongyue miao	東嶽廟
Du Shiran	杜石然
duan	段
duan	端
Duan Gun	段袞
dui	對
Ershiwu yan	二十五言
fa	法
Famu	伐木
Fang Congzhe	方從哲
Fang Hao	方豪

Fang Hao liushi ziding gao	方豪六十自定稿
Fang Wenzhao	方文照
Fang Yizhi	方以智
fanseng	番僧
fanzi shu	番字書
Feilian	蜚聯
Feilibo	裴禮伯
Feng Bao	馮保
Feng Menglong	馮夢峴s
feng tian	奉天
Feng Yingjing	馮應京
fengshen	封神
fenshu	焚書
fenye	分野
Fu Qinjia	傅勤家
Fujian	福建
Gao Yizhi	高一志
Gaofei lianjie	高飛連捷
Gaozhou	高州
Gaozuo	高座
gewu	格物
gezhi	格致
Gong Daqi	龔大器
Gong Weiliu	宮偉鏐
gongjiao	公教
gonglun	公論
gougu	句股
Gougu yi	句股義
Gu Qiyuan	顧起元
gu sui Shi Dao...	故雖釋道二氏流傳既久猶僅有之不使與儒教並馳
guang xian zu kao zhe. Zu kao wei shui	光顯祖考者。祖考為誰
Guangdong	廣東
Guangling	廣陵
Guangxin fuzhi	廣信府志
Guiqi xianzhi	貴溪縣志
guiwei	癸未
Gujin tushu jicheng	古今圖書集成

Guo	郭
Guo Jianchen	郭諫臣
Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan liyusuo jikan	國立中央研究院歷語所集刊
Guoque fy beiyu lu	國榘附北游錄
Guoshi jingji zhi	國史經籍志
Guo Shoujing	郭守敬
Guoxiang	郭象
Guoyu	國語
Guiy kaoyuan	古易考原
Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing xueshe tushuguan cang Mingdai leishu gaishu	哈佛大學哈佛燕京學社圖書館藏明代類書概述
Hailing congke	海陵叢刻
Han	韓
Hanyu er yin shi yanjiu	漢語兒音史研究
Han Daozhao	韓道昭
Han Ji	韓自
Han Lin	韓霖
Han Qi	韓琦
Han Tianshi shijia	漢天師世家
Han Tiehan	韓鐵漢
Han Xiaoyan	韓孝彥
Han Yu	韓愈
Han Yun	韓雲
Han zu Tianshi	漢祖天師
Hangzhou	杭州
Hanmo daquan	翰墨大全
Hanshu	漢書
hao	號
Haotian shangdi	昊天上帝
He	和
he	鶴
He Guozong	何國宗
He Weibo	何維柏
He Xinyin (ji)	何心隱 (集)
Hong Jin	洪襟
Hong Zicheng	洪自誠
Hongdao lu	弘道錄

Hongzhi emperor	弘治
Hou Hanshu	後漢書
hou qi	候氣
hou tian	後天
hu	胡
Hu Anguo	胡安國
Hu Guang	胡廣
Hu Jizong	胡繼宗
huage pangxing	畫革旁行
Huainanzi	淮南子
Huang gong	黃公
Huang Guan	黃觀
Huang Guoding (jiushi)	黃國鼎（九石）
Huang Heqing	黃河清
Huang jing jizhu	皇經集注
Huang Ming enming shilu	皇明恩命世錄
Huang Qin	黃芹
Huang Yilong	黃一農
Huang Yuji	黃虞稷
Huang Yunmei	黃雲眉
Huang Zongxi	黃宗羲
Huang Zuo	黃佐
huangdao jing wei yi	黃道經緯儀
Huangtian shangdi	皇天上帝
Huanrong jiaoyi	圖容較義
Hubei	湖北
Huihui	回回
Huangai tongxian tushuo	渾蓋通憲圖說
Huntian yishuo	渾天儀說
huxiang	胡像
ji	季
ji	記
ji	祭
Ji biaoxian Shanxi fangyin de «Xiru ermu zi»	記表現山西方音的《西儒耳目資》
Jia Kui	賈逵
jia wen jia xiang	加文加詳
jia, yi, bing, ding	甲, 巳, 丙, 丁

Jiali yixing	家禮易行
Jiajing	嘉靖
Jiajing dali yi	嘉靖大禮議
Jianchang	建昌
Jianping yi shuo	簡平儀說
Jianwen emperor	建文
Jiang Zhi	江贊
Jiangsu	江蘇
Jiangxi tongzhi	江西通志
Jiangzhou	絳州
Jiao Hong	焦竑
Jiao Qiu helu xu	交逯合錄序
Jiaoshi bi cheng	焦氏筆乘
Jiaoyao jielue	教要解略
Jiaoyou lun	交友論
jie	界
jihe	幾何
Jihe yaofa	幾何要法
Jihe yuanben	幾何原本
jin	人
Jindai shilie congshu huibian	近代史料叢書彙編
Jinghai	靜海
Jinling tongzhuan	金陵通傳
Jinnige «Xiru ermu zi» suo ji de yin	金尼閣《西儒耳目資》所記的音
Jinnige Xiru ermu zi xi lun	金尼閣西儒耳目資析論
jinshi	進士
Jinxi jiyu	近溪集語
Jiqing Hanmo lin	寄情翰墨林
Jiren sipian	畸人十篇
Jiuzhang	九章
Jixian yi	紀限儀
Ju gujing zhuan kao tianxiang bu junqi	據古經傳考天象不均齊
juan	卷
Jujie	具揭
junzi	君子
juren	舉人
Kangxi emperor	康熙

Kangxi shidai chuanru de Xifang shuxue ji qi dui Zhongguo shuxue de yingxiang

康熙時代傳入的西方數學及其對中國數學的影響

Kangxi zidian	康熙字典
kao	考
kaozheng	考證
Kezuo zhuiyu	客坐贅語
Kouduo richao	口鐸日抄
kun	坤
Kunyu tushuo	坤輿圖說
Kunyu wanguo quantu	坤輿萬國全圖
Ladingwen chuanru Zhongguo	拉丁文傳入中國
Lai Zhide	來知德
Jangguan	郎嬛, var. 瑯環
Languan ji	瑯環記
Laozi yi	老子翼
Laozi zhigui	老子指歸
le	樂
leduolijia	勒多理加
Li	利
li	理
li	禮
Li Andang	利安當
Li Cheng	李成
Li Deng	李登
Li Kejia	李克家
Li Madou	利瑪竇
Li Madou ditu	利瑪竇地圖
Li Panlong	李攀龍
Li Shanlan	李善蘭
Li Sijing	李思敬
Li Tingji	李廷機
Li Wen	李雯
Li Xinkui	李新魁
Li Xitai	利西泰
Li Yan	李儼
Li Yushu	李毓澍
Li Zhi	李贄

Li Zhizao	李之澡
Liang Han junyan	兩漢雋言
Lidai Zhang Tianshi zhuan	歷代張天師傳
Lie bianzheng pu	列邊正譜
Lie yinyun pu	列音韻譜
Lifa Budeyi bian	(歷法) 不得已辯
Lifa xizhuan	曆法西傳
Liji	禮記
lijia	曆家
lin	麟
Lin Yue	林越
Lin Zhao'en	林兆恩
Ling Dizhi	凌迪知
Lingxi shuilu bingji	嶺西水路兵紀
Linqing	臨清
Lisao	離騷
Lishi fenshu	李氏焚書
Lishan wang	歷山王
Lishi lu	歷仕錄
Liu Benduo	劉本多
Liu Dun	劉鈍
Liu Jun	劉峻
Liu Ning	劉凝
Liu Ren'er	劉仁兒
Liu Xie	劉協
Liu Yanhe	劉彥和
Liu Yiqing	劉義慶
Liujing tu	六經圖
Long Huamin	龍華民
Long'er	龍兒
Longhu shan	龍虎山
Longhu shan zhi	龍虎山志
Longqing	隆慶
Lou Jinyuan	婁進垣
Lu Wan'gai	陸萬垓
Lu Xiangshan	陸象山
Lu Zhiwei	陸志韋

Luduowei	露多未
lun	論
Lun li	論曆
Lunyu	論語
Luo Changpei	羅常培
Luo Qinzeng	駱駁曾
Luo Rufang	羅汝芳
Luo Xintian	羅莘田
Mai Yun	麥耘
Mao shan	茅山
Maoshi zhengyi	毛詩正義
Mei Gucheng	梅穀成
Mei Yingzuo	梅膺祚
Mei Zhuo	梅鶯
meng	孟
Mengqi bitan	夢溪筆談
min wu tong bao	民吾同胞
Minamoto Ryôen	源了圓
ming	明
Ming dufu nianbiao	明督撫年表
Ming Muzong shilu	明穆宗實錄
Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin	明清進士體名碑錄所引
Ming Shenzong shilu	明神宗實錄
Ming Shizong shilu	明世宗實錄
Mingci cong	明詞綜
Mingdai Daojiao zhengyi pai	明代道教正一派
Mingjing	明經
Mingmo Qingchu Tianzhuojiao chuanjiaosji de sanzong yuyinxue zhuzuo	明末清初天主教傳教士的三種語音學著作
Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin	明人傳記資料索引
Mingru xue'an	明儒學案
Mingshi	明史
mingshi	名士
Mingshi (kaozheng)	明史（考證）
Mingshi gao	明史稿
Mingshi yiwen zhi	明史藝文志
mingwu	明悟

Minshin jidai no jitsugaku shichô to kagaku gijutsu	明清時代の實學思潮と科學技術
mishi zhuzhong	密食諸種
Mo Di (Mozi)	墨翟
muxu yuan (huayuan)	苜蓿園（花園）
Nanfeng	南豐
Nangong shudu	南宮署牘
Nanji pian	南極篇
Nanyang daxue xuebao	南洋大學學報
Nanyong zhi	南雍志
Neixingzhai wenji	內省齋文集
Niamping	念平
Nicchû Jitsugakushi Kenkyû	中日實學史研究
Niejing	孽鏡
Okunaka Kôzô	奧中孝三
Onseigakkaihô	音聲學會報
Pan En	潘恩
Pan Luan	潘巒
Pangong liyue shu	頤宮禮樂疏
Pengyou pian	朋友篇
pi	譬
pihua	皮畫（有木套內尺三條）
Pinyin wenzi shiliao congshu	拼音文字史料叢書
Pishi jingyan	譬式警言
Pishi jingyu	譬式警語
Pixie lun	闢邪論
Pixue	譬學
Poxie ji	破邪集
qi	氣
qian	乾
Qian Daxin	錢大昕
Qiankun tiyi	乾坤體義
Qianqing tang shumu	千頃堂書目
Qiao Yiqi (bogui)	喬一琦（伯圭）
Qike	七克
qilin	麒麟
qin	親
Qin tian jian	欽天監

Qinghua xuebao	清華學報
qingtan	青毯
Qiqi tushuo	奇器圖說
qiu	求
Qiu Kaiming	裘開明
Qiuyou pian	速友篇
qu	曲
Qu Rukui	瞿汝夔
Qu Shigu	瞿式穀
Qu Taisu	瞿太素
Ren Shifeng	任士馮
Renminribao	人民日報
renwu	壬午
Rong Zhaozu	容肇祖
ru	儒
runse	潤色
sanjiao	三教
sanzhi	三知
«Seiju jimokushi» to Kanji no kyôonhô	《西儒耳目資》 漢字 表音法
Senijia	色溺加
sha	沙
Shandong	山東
Shang Huqing 'Shiji) zi: Tianming; Weitang	尚祐卿 (識己) 字天民, 韋堂
shangqing guan tidian	上清觀提點
Shangyuan	上元
Shanhai jing	山海經
Shanhai yudi quantu	山海輿地全圖
shanshu	善書
Shanyang	山陽
Shao Fuzhong	邵輔忠
Shao Jingbang	邵經邦
Shao Yichen	邵懿辰
Shaowei tongjian jieyao	少微通鑑節要
shen	神
Shen Guangyu	沈光裕
Shen Jingde	沈經德
Shen Que	沈雀

Shenzong emperor	神宗
Shengjiao xinzheng	聖教新證
Sheng Wannian	盛萬年
shengren	聖人
Shesheng Bingzhu Baijing zhubian	攝生炳燭百警諸編
Shilun «Xiru ermu zi» de jichu ji Mingdai guanhua de biao zhunin	試論《西儒耳目資》的基礎及明代官話的標準音
shi tian tang	事天堂
Shijing	詩經
Shin kanwa jiten	新漢和辭典
Shisuo xinyu	世說新語
shiwen	詩文
Shixian li	時憲曆
shixue	實學
Shizong emperor	世宗
Shoushi li	授時曆
shu	數
Shu Hai	豎亥
Shui fa Liang fa	水法量法
Shujing	書經
Shuli jingyun zhong jihe yuanben de diben wenti	數理精蘊中幾何原本的底本問題
Shun	舜
Shunzhi	順治
Shuyan gushi daquan	書言故事大全
Si Xiyang xin fa	似西洋新法
si zheng (zhong)	四正 (仲)
Sibu beiyao	四部備要
sifan	祀範
sihai zhi bei jie xiongdi	四海之內皆兄弟
Siku quanshu	四庫全書
Siku quanshu zongmu	四庫全書總目
Siku shishou Mingdai leishu kao	四庫失收明代類書考
Sili	司理
Sima Guang	司馬光
Sima Qian	司馬遷
siyu	四餘

Song	宋
songzang	送鱗
Soushen ji	搜神記
Suanfa yuanben	算法原本
Suenaka Tetsuo	末中哲夫
suo qiu zhi duan	所求之端
suo qu zhi duan	所取之端
suoyi ran	所以然
taguo yong Zhonghua bu yong	他國用中華不用
Tai Zhang	太章
Taiji	太極
Taijitu	太極圖
Taishan	太山
Taishi huaju	太史華句
Taixi renshen shuogai	太西人身說概
Taixi shuifa	太西水法
Taizhou	泰州
Taizu	太祖
tan	彈
Tan Qian	談遷
Tang Laihe	湯來賀
tangpi	堂批
Tan «Xiru ermu zi»	談《西儒耳目資》
Tao Wangling	陶望齡
ti	題
ti	體
Ti'an	惕庵
Tian Ru yin	天儒陰
tianming	天命
Tianshan caotang cungao	天山草堂存稿
tianshen	天神
Tianshi	天師
Tianshi bingshan lu	天水冰山錄
Tianti yi	天體儀
Tianwen lue	天問舛
Tianxiang zhi cuoza	天象之錯雜
tianxiang	天象

Tianxue chuhan	天學初函
Tianxue jijie	天學集解
Tianxue shuo	天學說
Tianzhu	天主
Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan	天主聖教約言
Tianzhu shengxiang lue	天主聖像略
Tianzhu shiyi	天主實義
Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian	天主教東傳文獻
Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian sanbian	天主教東傳文獻三編
Tianzhu jiaoyao	天主教要
tiaoyue	條約
Tiezhu gong	鐵柱宮
ting	聽
Tingwenzhou shishuo	庭聞州世說
Tong ya	通雅
tong ji	通幾
tongming	同鳴
tongshu	通書
Tongwen suanzhi qianbian	同文算指前編
Tongwen suanzhi tongbian	同文算指通編
Tongwen suanzhi biebian	同文算指別編
tu	圖
tuibu	推步
tushuo	圖說
Wan Quan	萬全
Wang Bo	王柏
Wang Fongsu	王豐肅
Wang Gen	王艮
Wang Ruwang	汪儒望
Wang Shizhen	王士貞
Wang Xianzhi	王獻之
Wang Xichan	王錫闡
Wang Yangming	王陽明
Wang Zheng	王徵
Wang Zhi	王制
Wang Zhiyuan	王之垣
Wang Zhongmin	王重民

Wang zuo situ jiazhuan	王左司徒家傳
Wanguo quantu	萬國全圖作
wanguo yinyun	萬國音韻
Wanli emperor	萬曆
Wanli xu Daozang	萬歷續道藏
Wanwu benmo yueyan	萬物本末約言
Wei	淮
Wei	魏
Wei Jitai	魏濟泰
Wei Kuangguo	衛匡國
Wei Shi	衛湜
Wei Xuequ	魏學渠
Wen Tiren	溫體仁
Wen Xiangfeng	文翔鳳
Wenhua xianfeng	文化先鋒
Wenji	文契
wenke	文科
Wenlin qixiu	文林綺繡
Wenxin diaolong	文心雕龍
Wenxuan jinzi	文選錦字
Wenze	文則
wenshang	文章
wu	梧
wu chang	五常
wu dui	無對
wu jie	無解
Wu li xiao zhi	物理小識
wu lun	五倫
wu ru	吾儒
wu wei	五緯
Wu Xiangxiang	吳相湘
wu zonglei	物宗類
wuliang dian	無梁殿
Wusheng juejing	無生訣經
Wuzong emperor	武宗
Xi	義
Xi'anfu	西安府

xian tian	先天
Xiang xian yi	象限儀
xiangfan	相反
xiangfan zhi duan	相反之端
xianglei	相類
Xianzong	憲宗
xianzu	先祖
xiao dao	小道
Xiao yao xujing	消搖墟經
Xiao'an xinfa	曉庵新法
Xiaobiao	孝標
xiaoxue	小學
Xiaozong	孝宗
Xie Peilin	謝沛霖
xie wu yi fu yi, yang yan yi qie shi	寫物以附意，屬言以切事
Xie Yuenfei	謝雲飛
Xifa lizhuan	西法曆傳
Xifang	西方
Xifang dawen	西方答問
Xifang wenda	西方問答
Xiguo jifa	西國記法
Xihu lüke	西湖旅客
xiju	西局
xin	新
Xinan shifan daxue xuebao	西南師範大學學報
Xin zhi lingtai yixiang zhi	新製靈臺儀象志
xinfa	心法
Xinfa lishu	新法曆書
xing er shang	形而上
xing er xia	形而下
Xingxin lou bian	惺心樓編
Xinxue huming jie	心學晦明解
xinyou	辛酉
Xiong Bogan	熊伯甘
xiru	西儒
Xiru ermu zi	西儒耳目資
«Xiru ermu zi» da diaozhi nice	《西儒耳目資》的調值擬測

«Xiru ermu zi» meiyou erhuayin de jilu	《西儒耳目資》沒有兒化音的記錄
xiuca	秀才
Xixue	西學
Xixue fan	西學凡
Xiyang	西洋
Xiyang xinfa lishu	西洋新法曆書
Xiyang xuezhe duiyu Zhongguo yuyinxue de gongxian	西洋學者對於中國語音學的貢獻
Xiying	西營
Xizi qiji	西字奇跡
Xu Changzhi	徐昌治
Xu Daozang	續道藏
Xu Daozang jing mulu	續道藏經目錄
Xu Erjue	徐爾覺
Xu Guangqi	徐光啟
Xu Shizeng	徐師曾
Xu Xuanzhu	徐玄扈
Xu Yuantai	徐元太
Xuesheng shixue congshu	學生史學叢書
Xunzi	荀子
Xuxian zhen lu	徐仙真錄
yan	驗
Yan Junping lu	嚴君平
Yan Song	嚴嵩
Yan Wenhui	晏文輝
Yan Zun	嚴遵
yang	陽
Yang Daojing	楊道經
Yang Guangxian	楊光先
Yang Jia	楊甲
Yang Jian	楊簡
Yang Tinghe	楊廷和
Yang Xiong	揚雄
Yang Zhu	楊朱
Yangzhou	揚州
Yanji tu	研幾圖

Yanjing xuebao	燕京學報
Yanqi tushuo	驗氣圖說
Yao	堯
Yao dian	堯典
Ye huo	野獲
Yesu huishi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian	耶酥會士在音韻學上的貢獻
Yi yin	易因
yiduan	異端
Yijing	易經
yilun	議論
yin	陰
yin	隱
Yiqing	義慶
yishu	夷書
Yixiang tu	儀象圖
Yixiang zhi	儀象志
Yiyin shoupu	譯引首譜
yong	用
yongfa	用法
Yongle emperor	永樂
you jie	有解
yu	欲
Yu Yunwen	俞允文
Yuan Mingshan	元明善
Yuan dao	原道
Yuanjing shuo	遠鏡說
Yuanrong jiaoyi	園容較義
Yuanshi	元史
Yuanwu	圓悟
yue	閱
Yueling guangyi	月令廣義
Yueya tang congshu diyi ji	粵雅堂叢書第一集
Yulin	喻林
Yuwen yanjiu	語文研究
Yuyan yanjiu	語言研究
Yuzhi shuli jingyun	御製數理精蘊
zai nali zhu	在那裡住
zan	贊

Zengding Siku jianming mulu biao	增定四庫簡明目錄標注
Zeng Xiaoyu	曾曉渝
Zesheng	則聖
Zhai miu lun	摘謬論
zhang	張
Zhang Anmao	張安茂
Zhang Chongfang	張鍾芳
Zhang Gao	張高
Zhang Geng	張賡
Zhang Guoxiang	張國祥
Zhang Hua	張華
Zhang Juzheng	張居正
Zhang Pengchong	張鵬翀
Zhang Shilu	張世祿
Zhang Wenda	張問達
Zhang Xingyao	張星曜
Zhang Yongxu	張永緒
Zhang Yuanxian	張源先
Zhang Yuanxu	張元旭
Zhang Yuchu	張宇初
Zhang Yucun	張與村
Zhang Zhengchang	張正常
Zhang Zhixiang	張之象
Zhao Dingyu shumu	趙定宇書目
Zhao Yongxian	趙用賢
Zhaoqing	肇慶
Zhejiang	浙江
Zhengde	正德
Zhengtong Daozang	正統道藏
Zhengxue liushi	正學鐔石
zhengyi bu	正一部
Zhengyi jiaozhu	正一教主
Zhengyi zhenren	正一真人
Zhenzong	真宗
zhi	直
Zhi bu zu zhai congshu	知不足齋叢書
zhi ce	質測

zhi cheng	至誠
Zhifang waiji	職方外紀
zhigu	知古
zhizhi	致知
Zhong Xing	鍾惺
Zhong xing	中星
Zhongguo Daojiao shi	中國道教史
Zhongguo keji shiliao	中國科技史料
Zhongguo renming da cidian	中國人名大辭典
Zhongguo shanben shumu tiyao	中國善本書目提要
Zhongguo shixue congshu	中國史學叢書
Zhongguo tianzhujiao shi renwuzhuan	中國天主教史人物傳
Zhongguo yinyunxue de wailai yingxiang	中國音韻學的外來影響
Zhongguo yuwen	中國語文
Zhongguo yuyinxue shi	中國語音學史
Zhongguo xueshuyuan Tianzhujiao xueshu yanjiusuo xuebao	中華學術院天主教學術研究所學報
Zhonglian	仲連
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Zhu Shi	祝石
Zhu Xi	朱熹
Zhu Yizun	朱彝尊
Zhuan bao	傳報
Zhuangzi	莊子
Zhuangzi yi	莊子翼
zhusheng	諸生
zhushi	主事
Zhuzi quanshu	朱子全書
Zhuzi yulei	朱子語類

zi

Zihui

ziming

ziqu

Zixuan

Ziyang

ziyin

Ziyuan

Zou Sanlang

Zuoguo liang Han chusao taishi

Zuoguo yuci

Zuping

zupu

字

字隄

自鳴

紫氣

紫玄

紫陽

自引

子元

鄒三郎

左國兩漢楚騷太史

左國腴詞

佐平

族譜

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- 2) Names of places and institutions are in normal.
- 3) Topics are in italics.
- 4) Titles of books are in italics.
- 5) Most common names used throughout book, such as Europe, Jesuit, Christianity, have not been indexed.
- 6) The article on pp. 11-100 has not been indexed, since it already has an index of names on pp. 89-100.

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